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THE

MODERN TRAVELLER.

A

POPULAR DESCRIPTION,

EOGRAPHICAL, HISTORICAL, AND TOPOGRAPHICAL,

OF THE

RIOUS COUNTRIES OF THE GLOBE.

NORTH AMERICA.

VOL. II.

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NEGRESS OF SOUDAN. TIBBOO OF CATTJINN. SHOTAA WOMAN.

London Published by J. Dickinson, Patentee, 114 New Bond Street

THE

MODERN TRAVELLER,

&c. &c.

THE UNITED STATES.

PHILADELPHIA.

Prior to the Revolution, Philadelphia ranked as the first city in the American colonies, in point of population, wealth, and importance; and as the seat of the first Congress, it claimed the honours of a capital. These, it has been compelled to surrender to the Federal City, while New York has outstripped it as a commercial emporium, both in its tonnage and its population. In the amount of its shipping, Philadelphia is now the third city in the Union; in population, the second; but, in the variety, extent, and excellence of its manufactures, it is still the first. Boston has been styled "the literary capital" of the United States, so far as regards native publications, although the reprinting of European works is carried on to a greater extent in Philadelphia. If the former city was "the cradle of the Revolution," the latter was its nursery. New York has been called the American London; Boston, the Liverpool (it might rather be styled the Edinburgh) of America; but Philadelphia can be compared to no English or European city. In its architectural plan, it is unique; in its heterogeneous and motley population, its character is

truly and properly American. Being less exclusively commercial than most of the other large cities of the Union, it is less distinguished by the hospitality of its inhabitants, and is a less agreeable and cheerful residence to a stranger; * but it is, on the other hand, justly celebrated for the quietness, piety, and morality of its inhabitants. The higher classes are said to be better informed and more refined in their manners, than those of New York, and entertain fewer national prejudices. If less ardent and sprightly, they are also less versatile and factious than those of Boston. "The lower ranks," says Mr. Howison, "appear to have a remarkable respect for religion and propriety of conduct; and I believe that crimes and violations of the law are more rare in Philadelphia, than in any other city of equal population in the world." †

No two cities within a hundred miles of each other, remarks the Traveller just cited, can differ more than New York and Philadelphia. "The latter has far less appearance of bustle in it, than the former; and the people one sees in its streets, are even more sedate and respectable in their looks, than the same class of persons in New York. Philadelphia contains no street that equals Broadway in splendour and variety, but it possesses some superior in regularity and elegance. Chestnut-street, which is the finest and most fashionable part of the city, comprehends many divisions that will bear a comparison with the best parts of the New Town of Edinburgh; and the interior of the houses is proportionably tasteful and commodious.

* So Mr. Duncan and Mr. Howison tell us; but Captain Basil Hall says; "the greatest pleasure of the inhabitants appears to lie in giving a hearty and most hospitable reception to strangers,"—"*properly introduced.*"

† Howison, p. 353.

The High-street is the great place of business; and in it is a market which, I suppose, for the quantity and variety of articles it affords, is not exceeded by any in the world, being about half a mile in length.*

The position of Philadelphia, although not equal to that of New York, is well chosen, and unites many natural advantages. The city stands upon an isthmus about two miles wide, between the Delaware and the Schuylkill, five miles above their confluence, and 126 miles from the sea. Its port is excellent, although liable to the inconvenience of being occasionally shut for a few weeks in the winter by the ice, notwithstanding that it lies under the parallel of 39° 57′ N. This interruption of its communication with the sea, occurs less frequently, however, than formerly, and lasts for a shorter time; and as the surrounding country becomes cleared of its forests, the severity of the winter, there is reason to believe, will be, to a still further degree, mitigated.

The course of the two rivers at the city, is very nearly N. and S.; but, almost immediately above, they diverge, the Delaware bending to the N. E., and the Schuylkill to the N.W.; thus materially facilitating the commercial communication with the interior of

* Howison, p. 349. This was for a long time the only market in Philadelphia; there are now seven or eight. Dr. Dwight, speaking of the failure of an attempt to establish a new market at New-haven, owing to the persevering opposition of several respectable citizens, says: "There is something very remarkable in the hostility of New England people to a regular market. Those who buy, and those who sell, manifest this opposition alike; nor has the imperfection and precariousness of the supplies brought in carts to their doors, reconciled the former class, nor the superior convenience and certainty of selling at the highest price, persuaded the latter, to the adoption of a system so obviously advantageous to both."—Dwight, vol. i. p. 163.

the State and with New Jersey. Both rivers are navigable up to the city by the largest merchantmen. The Delaware is here about a mile in width: the tide rises and falls about six feet, and vessels of 1200 tons can come up to the wharfs. It is navigable by large sloops and steam-boats to Trenton, about 30 miles above. The Schuylkill, although, above the city, comparatively shallow and disturbed by rapids, was always navigable by small vessels and rafts to a considerable distance; and through the spirited exertions of a company formed in 1815, the navigation has been so greatly improved and artificially extended, that boats loaded with produce ascend to the coal-mines of Mount Carbon, beyond the Blue Mountains, a distance of 110 miles, 64 of which are canal, overcoming a fall of 588 feet, by means of 28 dams and 120 locks. A branch undertaken by the Union Canal Company, connects the Susquehanna with the Schuylkill at Reading.

A still more important undertaking is that of the Chesapeake and Delaware Canal Company. This canal, which had long been a favourite project with the citizens of Philadelphia, was first seriously taken up in 1823. Commencing on the Delaware about 40 miles below Philadelphia, it crosses the peninsula in a direction nearly W., and enters the tide waters of the Elk river, a tributary to the Chesapeake. The length of the canal is thirteen miles and a half; its breadth is 60 feet at top, 40 feet at bottom; its depth 10 feet, with a rise of only eight feet above high tide to its summit level. The height of deep cutting is 90 feet, through which there is a walling of large stone, 12 feet high, for an extent of four miles. The citizens of Philadelphia boast that it presents the greatest excavation ever attempted in any country. The estimated cost was to be about 1,200,000 dollars; but two

millions of dollars have already been expended on the undertaking, owing to the unexpected difficulties which it has been found necessary to surmount.* Its eastern termination is guarded by Fort Delaware, and will be protected by a second fort directly on its banks. At its entrance into the Delaware is a spacious harbour, 20 feet deep at low water, capable of containing 200 vessels of a large class, and affording a safe shelter against the dangers of the bay at all seasons. "Nor is the magnificence of the work," say Messrs. Carey and Lea, "disproportioned to its importance. It is the great link which connects the north and the south; which opens to the rich interior of Pennsylvania and New York, a direct, safe, and profitable intercourse with all the southern States; and which gives to those States new markets for the sale, and new ports for the shipment of their staple productions."† Together with the Chesapeake and Ohio Canal, towards the accomplishment of which a million of dollars has been recently voted by Congress, and the Dismal Swamp Canal, by which a communication

* The Ninth General Report of the Directors of this Company, dated June 2, 1828, details some of these difficulties and mishaps. The workmen, in excavating, had to contend perpetually with quicksands and slips of earth, owing to which, considerably more earth had been taken from the line of canal, than was originally contained within its limits; and a prodigious quantity of masonry had been found requisite to ensure the solidity of the banks, which in several instances "indicated a decided tendency to sink." It was hoped, that the entire canal, the eastern section of which to the summit bridge was finished, would be navigable in the autumn of 1829.

† Philadelphia in 1824, p. 159. The Writer adds: "*More useful too*, if possible, *in war* than in peace, it will facilitate the operations of our armies," &c. In the "Ninth Report," we have a similar reference to its contingent advantages, "should these United States be at any time involved in the calamities of war with a foreign maritime nation." These martial notions are probably *ad captandum*.

will be established with the Carolinas, it will complete a great chain of internal navigation of singular extent and importance.

The first appearance of the city, stretching along the bank of the Delaware "in magnificent extent," Mr. Howison thought, "very imposing." Ships of every description are seen at anchor in the river, and give the city a commercial and busy aspect. Mr. Duncan (who visited it in 1818) says: "The appearance of the city from the river is by no means imposing; rather the opposite. The ground is generally level, and the mass of buildings present a dull, heavy uniformity. Most of those along the bank are by no means elegant, and only a solitary steeple rises above the dense horizon." Thus travellers differ; less widely, however, in meaning than in words; for, while there is nothing imposing, in the sense of deceptive, in the first view of the city, nothing picturesque in its site, nor magnificent in its architectural character, it is very conceivable, that its "unbroken aggregate of buildings," with all the signs of mercantile wealth and bustle, must derive a sort of grandeur from its very extent and from the ideas connected with the moving scene.

"The aspect of the city, however," continues Mr. Duncan, "improves amazingly when you enter the streets, which are wide, straight, and clean, and, with only one exception, cross each other at right angles. The houses are in general of painted brick; but some of the more modern have a flight of marble steps in front; and the lintels of the doors and windows, and even the side walk in front, are of the same beautiful materials." *

* The banks of the Schuylkill furnish a plentiful supply of marble.

H.Adlard Sc.

WESTMINSTER ABBEY.

FROM KENSINGTON

"When Penn laid out the ground for his city,* he intended that it should occupy a parallelogram one mile in width, between the two rivers, and that the buildings should be kept within the parallel lines till the intervening space was filled. But the inhabitants found that the bank of the Delaware was a more desirable situation than that of the Schuylkill; and, in consequence, buildings have stretched along the former river, above and below the assigned boundary, till the city is here about four miles long, while the streets are not compactly built much further than half way across to the other river. On both banks of the Schuylkill, however, a considerable number of buildings have been erected. The populous suburb on the Delaware, to the south of the original boundary, is called Southwark; that to the north, the Northern Liberties, and closer to the river, Kensington.†

* Dean Prideaux says, that Penn had in view as his model, the celebrated city of Babylon; and it would seem from the first orders that he gave to his commissioners, that he thought it practicable to emulate the size as well as the regularity of the Chaldean capital. Instead, however, of a town of twelve and a half miles square, which the original plan would have occupied, one of less than two square miles, or about 1200 acres, was laid out; which was again contracted, and by the charter of 1701, the city was declared to be bounded by the two rivers Delaware and Schuylkill, or hidden river.—Mease's Picture of Philadelphia.

† "The venerable elm under which, according to tradition, Penn negotiated his celebrated treaty with the Indians, stood at Kensington; and the decayed trunk, after being spared by the British army in the Revolutionary war, and weathering many a hard gale, was at last levelled a few years ago by a hurricane. Portions of it are now eagerly sought after by relic-hunters, to be converted, like the Cruickstone Yew and the rafters of Alloway Kirk, into snuff-boxes and other toys. I lately discovered in an old Baltimore newspaper, what is said to be a copy of Penn's treaty; it is in the form of an indenture, and the following are the articles which it specifies as having been given to the Indians, in exchange for the ground between the two rivers, 'as far as a man can ride in two days

"Market street, 100 feet wide, stretches through the centre of the city, from the one river to the other; it is crossed, rather nearer the Schuylkill than midway, by Broad-street, 113 feet wide, and the other streets are at right angles to one or other of these. The cross streets are from 50 to 60 feet wide. Those running parallel to the rivers are, with a quaker-like simplicity, (which, however, affords a stranger important facilities in finding his way,) named North and South, Front, Second, Third, Fourth, and so on, as they recede from each river. Those parallel to Market-street are, with more elegance, named after the various kinds of timber with which the ground was formerly covered; Vine, Sassafras, Mulberry, Chestnut, Walnut, Spruce, Pine, and Cedar.* Water-street, between Front-street and the Delaware, which should have been called *Mud-lane*, and the wharfs which project into the stream, are deviations from the original plan of the city. Dock-street, the only crooked one in the city, was originally the bed of a sluggish stream, which generated noxious air, and was a few years ago arched over.

with a horse:' 20 guns, 20 fathoms matchcoat, 20 fathoms stroud-water, 20 blankets, 20 kittles, 20 pounds powder, 100 bars lead, 40 tomahawks, 100 knives, 40 pair stockings, 1 barrel beer, 20 pounds red lead, 100 fathoms wampum, 30 glass bottles, 30 pewter spoons, 100 awl-blades, 300 tobacco-pipes, 100 hands tobacco, 20 tobacco-tongs, 20 steels, 300 flints, 30 pairs scissors, 30 combs, 60 looking-glasses, 200 needles, 1 skipple salt, 30 pounds sugar, 5 gallons molasses, 20 tobacco-boxes, 100 Jews' harps, 20 hoes, 30 gimblets, 30 wooden screw boxes, 100 strings of beads." This curious document does not appear in Clarkson's Life of Penn.

* The local distich,

"Chestnut, walnut, spruce, and pine,
Market, arch, and race, and vine,"

every stranger, Captain Basil Hall says, will do well to get by to guide him through the city.

"Not many wooden houses are now to be seen in the streets; the greater part were extirpated by fires, which, on different occasions, spread dreadful havoc; and since 1796, their erection has been prohibited. The side walks are wider and less encumbered than those of New York. Many of them are skirted with Lombardy poplars. In hot weather, numerous awnings are stretched along in front of the stores, the foot-walks are cooled by frequent ablutions with water, and the atmosphere has a freshness and purity very uncommon in so large a city.

"Market-street, which, to correspond to its situation, should have been the most elegant in the city, is disfigured by a long, covered piazza in the centre, of the plainest possible appearance, under which the venders of meat, fish, poultry, vegetables, fruit, earthen and wooden ware, expose their commodities for sale; and on either side are carts and wheel-barrows loaded with additional supplies. Upon the whole, however, the streets are much superior to the mass of those in New York, although individually, not one of them can be compared with Broadway, nor is there a walk or a prospect equal to what the Battery affords.

"Some of the public buildings do honour alike to the liberality of the citizens, and to the classical taste of the architects by whom they were designed. The banking-house of Mr. Girard presents an elegant front almost entirely of white marble. A lofty Corinthian portico, of fluted columns, rises from a flight of steps to the full height of the building, and corresponding pilasters are extended on both sides. The Bank of Pennsylvania is a still more perfect structure, and makes a nearer approach to classical models than any that I have ever seen. The whole building,

including even the roof, is of white marble. Its form is a parallelogram 125 feet long, and 51 feet broad: at each end is a flight of ten steps supporting a chaste Ionic portico of six columns, with an entablature and pediment. The entablature is carried round the building, but the sides are otherwise plain. Under the porticoes, the Grecian character has been carefully preserved, and in neither is there any opening but a single door in the centre.

"This magnificent edifice is said to have been designed from a temple at Athens; and the very remarkable correctness of its principal features, combined with the appropriate and beautiful material of which it is composed, produce a most pleasing effect on the spectator's mind, and forcibly impress him with the sad inferiority of modern decoration, to the simple elegance of Grecian models. The situation which this noble edifice occupies, is low and confined, and materially injures its effect." *

The Bank of the United States is a still more elegant structure, built "on the plan of the Parthenon at Athens, so far as it could be consistently with the different purposes for which it is designed, and dispensing of course with the flanking columns and every appendage of mere decoration." The front is a portico, the full height of the building, consisting of eight Doric columns, twenty-seven feet in height, and four feet and a half in diameter, rising from a flight of steps, and supporting a corresponding entablature and

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 187—191. The design of the Bank of Pennsylvania is taken from the temple of the Muses on the Ilyssus. The first stone was laid in April 1799, and the whole was finished in 1801. It is reckoned the purest specimen of Grecian architecture in the country, with the exception of the Bank of the United States.

pediment, all of the Pennsylvanian white marble. The interior arrangements are thus described.

"The door of entrance opens into a large vestibule with circular ends, embracing the transfer and loan offices on the right and left, together with a commodious lobby leading to the banking-room. The vestibule ceiling is a prolonged panelled dome, divided into three compartments by bands, enriched with the guilloches springing from a projecting impost, containing a sunken frette. The pavement is inlaid with American and Italian marble throughout. The banking-room occupies the centre of the building, being 48 feet wide, and 81 feet in length. A double range of six fluted marble columns, 22 inches in diameter, forms a screen or gallery for the clerks' desks, which are placed within the intercolumniations. These columns are of the Ionic order, with a full entablature and blocking course, on which the great central and lateral arches are supported. The central arch, being semi-cylindrical, is 28 feet in diameter, and 81 feet in length. The ceiling is 35 feet from the floor to the crown of the arch. An Isthmian wreath, carved in one entire block of Pennsylvanian marble, surrounds the clock face, which occupies the space of the first panel over the entablature in the centre, the design of which is copied from the reverse of an antique gem, found at Corinth, and described by Stuart. The tellers' counters are of marble, forming panelled pedestals across each end of the banking-room. The stockholders' room is a parallelogram of 50 feet by 28, having a groin-arched ceiling. The banking-room is amply warmed by two cast-iron furnaces, lined with brick, being simply erected within an air-chamber, through which the external atmosphere passes, and becomes heated by the furnace. It then rises through

the arch into a circular cast-iron pedestal, perforated on the sides, out of which it is suffered to escape into the room. The whole body of the building is arched in a bomb-proof manner, from the cellar to the roof, which is covered with copper. All the groin arches are girdled at the springing line with iron straps, passing round within the body of the division walls." *

There is a third Bank, the oldest in the United States, called the Bank of North America; the establishment of which, in 1781, aided by the exertions of its originator, Mr. Morris, is believed to have been the means of saving the public treasury from bankruptcy. The banking-house, however, is only a plain brick building, recently rough-cast, on the northern side of Chestnut-street. A fourth, the Bank of Pennsylvania, is described as "a neat and correct specimen of the Gothic style of architecture." There is also a Masonic Hall, in the same style. These buildings, Mr. Duncan says, "are necessarily on a small scale, and the fatal incongruity of red brick walls with white marble buttresses and pinnacles, must strike every one who has seen an ancient Gothic building." † To remedy this, the Gothic Bank has been recently rough-cast and coloured in imitation of marble.

There are between eighty and ninety places of worship in Philadelphia. Most of these are neat, but plain edifices. It is only within a few years that a

* Carey and Lea's Philadelphia in 1824, pp. 78, 9. The foundation stone of this beautiful edifice was laid in April 1819, and it was finished in 1824.

† "The Masonic Hall," says Lieutenant Hall, "is an awkward combination of brick and marble in the Gothic style; that is, plentifully tricked and frounced with niches, pinnacles, and battlements, and a spire 80 feet high. The Philadelphia Bank is in the same ridiculous taste, bating the absurdity of the spire."—F. Hall, pp. 217, 18.

taste for architectural decoration has been introduced. One of the Baptist churches is mentioned by Lieutenant Hall as having some claim to elegance of design. "It has a rotunda surmounted with a dome, which is lighted by a lantern 20 feet in diameter; there is a projection to the street in the form of wings, separated by an Ionic colonnade, which forms the entrance, and is crowned with two cupolas; the whole is of brick; the diameter of the rotunda is 90 feet. The walls are 50 feet from the ground, and are surmounted with three steps before the swell of the dome, which rises at an angle of 45°. The building is calculated to hold 2500 persons.* The first Presbyterian church, in Washington Square, built in 1822, is said to be on the model of the Ionic temple on the Ilyssus: it is of brick, coated with mortar, painted in imitation of marble. The roof is surmounted with a cupola, in which is a bell.† St. Andrew's Church, in Eighth Street, is also a Grecian edifice: "the front is intended to be a copy of the portico of the Temple of Bacchus at Teos; the interior is of a correspondent character, and highly decorated." This church, which is 130 feet long by 65, was consecrated for the episcopal worship in May 1823.‡ St. Stephen's, in Tenth Street, consecrated in the same year, is described as one of the most perfect specimens of Gothic architecture in the country. Christ's Church, in Second Street, rebuilt in 1727, has a steeple 190 feet high, which was for a long time the only one of which Philadelphia could boast, with a ring of eight bells.

A second Jewish synagogue has been recently erected, 40 feet in front, 70 feet in depth, and two stories in

* F. Hall, p. 217. † Philadelphia in 1824, p. 49. ‡ *Ibid.*

height, "built in the Egyptian style, of stone from the Falls of the Schuylkill. The principal entrance is through an elevated door-way formed with inclined jambs, supporting a large coved cornice, in which is sculptured the globe and wings. The interior embraces two semi-circular blocks of seats, displaying to the north and south of the ark and altar. The dome is supported with Egyptian columns copied from the temple at Tentyra, and is formed by semi-circular archivolts, joining a richly panelled segment extending over the ark and altar. In the centre of the dome is a lantern which gives light to the altar. The ark is situated in the east side, immediately opposite the altar, and is neatly decorated with pilasters, supporting a second cornice, enriched with the globe and wings, together with a marble tablet, containing the Ten Commandments in Hebrew. It is approached by a flight of steps between cheek-blocks, which support two handsome tripods, crowned with lamps. The galleries are semi-circular, extending round the northern and southern sides of the building, and are supported by the columns which extend to the dome." * One scarcely knows at which circumstance to admire the most, that a Jewish synagogue should be erected on the model of a heathen temple, or that this whimsical combination of incongruous styles and emblems, sacred and profane, Egyptian columns and the airy dome, should be met with in the City of Penn.

The original character of Philadelphia, however, not merely as regards its architecture, but in all other respects, has undergone, and is still undergoing, a strange metamorphosis. "In a religious point of view," says Mr. Duncan, "Philadelphia, though strongly

* Philadelphia in 1824, p. 55.

characterised by the peculiarities of its Quaker origin, is not so much so as I had previously imagined. The Friends are now prodigiously outnumbered by those of other persuasions; and many who retain the name of the sect, have laid aside some of the peculiarities by which the more rigid are distinguished. This is particularly the case with those of younger years. In dress, there seems to be a kind of hesitating approximation to conformity with modern taste; and there are some individuals who, though careful, in writing, to retain the well known formula in date, address, and signature, have no objections, in conversation, to concede the usual courtesies of polite intercourse. Passive obedience and non-resistance have been generally esteemed essential to Quaker principles; but a considerable party in this city separated from the main body, during the Revolutionary war, in consequence of maintaining the propriety of fighting for the national independence. They still continue to be a distinct class, justifying an appeal to the sword in defence of national rights." * They are known under the appellation of Free Quakers.

* Duncan, vol. i. p. 204. Of the principles of the majority of the sect, this Writer adds, he had been able to learn very little. He had met with individuals who maintained very decidedly the essential doctrines of Christianity, while the sentiments of others approached very nearly to Deism. The resurrection of the body, he was told by "a Friend of the old school," who conducted him to the burying-ground, formed no part of their religious belief. A schism has at length taken place in the Quaker body, occasioned by the open promulgation of anti-christian doctrines by Elias Hicks and his partisans. At a meeting held at Westbury, in April 1829, Hicks was publicly disowned from being a member of the Society of Friends; and at the yearly meeting of the Friends in London, in May last, all connection was publicly disclaimed with those who held Socinian doctrines. In Pennsylvania, New York, Baltimore, Ohio, and Indiana, there exists considerable division of sentiment. In Ohio, the Hicksites numbered at the last yearly meeting, 1423,

Some idea of the proportional numbers of the various nations and religious denominations comprised in the motley population of this city, may be formed from a list of the places of worship. In the year 1749, Philadelphia contained 2076 houses, about 11,600 inhabitants,* and eleven places of worship; viz. 2 Presbyterian, 2 Quaker, 1 Episcopalian, 1 Swedish, 1 Baptist, 1 German Lutheran, 1 German Calvinist, 1 Moravian, and 1 Roman Catholic. In 1790, when the number of houses had increased to 6651, and the inhabitants to 42,520,† the places of worship were twenty-six in number, including 6 Presbyterian churches, 5 Quaker, (one of them for Free Quakers,) 3 Episcopalian, 3 Roman Catholic, a second German Lutheran, a second Baptist (Universal), a Methodist, a Jews' Synagogue, and the other places of worship, Swedish and German, already enumerated. In 1820, the population of the city was 63,802; that of the suburbs and county, 73,295: together, 137,097. Of these, 7331 within the city, and 3308 in the suburbs, were persons

about one-seventh of the whole; but it is believed that the greater proportion of the members continue to adhere to the primitive doctrines of Friends. In New England, Virginia, and North Carolina, no schism has taken place.—Congreg. Mag., Oct. 1829, p. 561.

* Of these, according to Morse, about 600 were blacks. In four years afterwards, on an enumeration made by Dr. Franklin and eight other citizens, the dwelling-houses had reached 2300, containing 14,563 inhabitants. In seven years more, the houses numbered 2960. In 1769, they were 4474; in 1776, 5460; in 1783, 6000.

† According to Carey and Lea's Philadelphia; but this census included the suburbs, which, in subsequent censuses, were reckoned as part of the county. According to Mease, the population of the city in 1790, was 28,522, including 193 slaves and 1411 free persons not taxed; that of the Northern Liberties, 8,337; of Southwark, Passyunk, and Morgamensing, 8,137: total, 44,996. In 1810, the total population of the city and county had risen to 111,210, of whom 9607 were blacks.

of colour; but slavery had been, in the mean time, happily extinguished.* In 1824, the places of worship in the city and suburbs, were as follow:—

Presbyterian	13	Brought up	66
Do. Scots, or Associate Ch.	1	Moravian	1
Do. Covenanters, or Reformed Presbyterian	1	Reformed Dutch	3
Do. African	2	Swedish Lutheran	1
Protestant Episcopal	11	Mennonist	1
Do. African	1	Universalist	2
Methodist	8	Unitarian	1
Do. African	5	Swedenborgian	2
Baptist	6	Mount Zion	1
Do. African	2	Bible Christians	1
Friends or Quakers	5	Jews	2
Free Quakers	1	Evangelical Society	4
Roman Catholic	4	Prison Chapel and Asylums	4
German Lutheran	4		89
„ Reformed	2		

Ten of these places of worship, it will be seen, were occupied by persons of colour, whom American etiquette excludes from the churches occupied by Europeans. Those belonging to the Evangelical Society, are small buildings erected in different parts of the suburbs. A fifth Roman Catholic chapel was in contemplation. The greatest increase, it will be seen, had taken place in the numbers of the Methodists, the Episcopalians, the Presbyterians, and the Baptists, while the Quakers and the other sects had remained nearly stationary.

Of 500 congregations which existed in the State of

* There were living in the families of white persons as servants,

	Males.	*Females.*	*Total.*
in the city	846	1739	2585
in the suburbs	182	343	525
	1028	2082	3110

Those who kept house, or lived in families of their own colour, were 7619, of whom 1970 were returned as taxable, and 229 owned real estate,

Pennsylvania in 1816, it was calculated, that only 97, or about one-fifth, belonged to the Quaker denomination; there were at the same period, 86 of Presbyterians; 60 of Baptists; 26 of Episcopalians; 96 of German Calvinists, and 74 of German Lutherans. The Friends and Episcopalians, Dr. Morse says, are chiefly of English extraction, and composed in 1789, about one-third of the inhabitants. They live principally in the city of Philadelphia, and in the counties of Philadelphia, Chester, Bucks, and Montgomery. The Presbyterians consist for the most part of the descendants of emigrants from the north of Ireland: they are particularly numerous in the western and frontier counties. The Baptists are chiefly the descendants of emigrants from Wales. About one-half of the population of the State was at that time supposed to be either of English or of Yankee origin; one-fourth, at least, German; one-eighth, Irish; and the remainder, Scots, Welsh, Swedes, and Dutch, and persons of colour.

Philadelphia is honourably distinguished by the number of its literary and philanthropic institutions. Among those of the latter description, the New Penitentiary and the Pennsylvania Hospital claim particular notice.

The Penitentiary recently erected at Pittsburgh, is of considerable extent, and not destitute, Captain Basil Hall says, of architectural beauty; but the construction, he deems defective, and the plan objectionable. "In the centre of the yard is erected what is called an observatory; and on seven lines diverging from this building, are to be built double ranges of cells, each 12 feet by 8, and 16 feet high, lighted by a small hole in the top. Connected with these apartments on the outside, is a small exercising yard, through which the

cell is entered. The keeper, however, can see the prisoner through a small orifice opening from the cell into the passage. This opening, which may be closed at pleasure, it is intended, shall generally be kept shut, though it affords the only mode of seeing the prisoner, except when the door into the small court is opened. When in the exercising yard, he cannot be seen at all. The central building is miscalled the Observatory, since none of the movements of the prisoners can be discovered from it, in consequence of the intervention of the side walls; and thus, effectual inspection seems out of the question. When in their cells, they have no means of communicating with one another, it is true; and if the orifices into the passage are closed, they are shut out so completely from the world, that they have no means of calling to the keeper, even in the event of sickness.

"The Auburn plan, it may be useful to remember, consists in the strictest solitary confinement at night; in hard labour, but in rigid silence, by day, and always in company, though under constant superintendence; in solitary meals, under lock and key; in regulated marchings to and from their workshops; in subjecting the prisoners to stripes for infractions of the prison rules; and in their never being placed in absolute solitary confinement, except as a punishment of a temporary nature; in having prayers morning and evening, said regularly by a resident clergyman, with whom alone the prisoners are allowed to converse, and that only on Sundays.

"The Philadelphia plan is widely different from this. It is intended, that the prisoners shall be subjected, during the day as well as night, to separate confinement, either in solitary idleness, or in solitary labour; along with which they are to be allowed no

more exercise than what they may themselves choose to take in their little courts. The keeper is the only person, besides the clergyman, who is ever to see them, and a Bible is to be placed in each cell. By these means, it is expected that, while many of the prisoners will be reformed, a salutary terror will be spread over the evil spirits of the State, and crime will thus be doubly prevented." *

This prison is designed to hold only 250 prisoners, though estimated to cost 500,000 dollars. How far the superior efficiency of its reformatory discipline will repay this cost, remains to be ascertained. There can be no doubt that the old system loudly called for reform. The once celebrated Philadelphia prison, which had set so honourable an example of important improvements in prison discipline, had long been in the most deplorable condition. Having been rendered the receptacle for all the convicts, and, until of late, of all the untried prisoners and vagrants belonging to the State of Pennsylvania, the overpowering numbers had rendered nugatory every attempt to preserve that scale of classification, and those plans of seclusion and hard labour, which formerly contributed to maintain the high character of the prison. Owing, too, to the indiscriminate exercise of the power of pardon, the terror of punishment had been essentially impaired. Added to which, it has been represented, that the protection from the weather, the warmth, and the food which the pri-

* B. Hall, vol. ii. pp. 346—348. In the Seventh Report of the London Prison Discipline Society, some further objections to the plan of this prison are stated. In particular, it is observed: "The description of the prison received by the Committee, makes no mention of a chapel, which does not appear to be provided in the plan; neither are there any separate apartments for the moral and religious instruction of the prisoners: this is, indeed, a lamentable omission in the design."—App. p. 332.]

son afforded, rendered it a place of comparative comfort, and held out a temptation to the commission of crime.* Solitary confinement, unmitigated by employment either for body or mind, is the most prominent feature in the discipline which has been advocated by some American writers; not as an occasional punishment, but as the ordinary treatment of prisoners; and this system, it is understood, is to be submitted to experiment in the new Penitentiary. Against the general adoption of such a treatment of prisoners, the objections are very serious and weighty. In the first place, although the injurious effects of solitary imprisonment, as leading to insanity and suicide, may have been greatly over-stated, it must be admitted, that this mode of punishment may be carried to too great an extent; and the consequences of the abuse are so truly dreadful, as to render its general use scarcely compatible with prudence or humanity. It may be pushed to the extent of positive torture, and, in such cases, can be justified only on the same grounds as the exploded engines of terror by which it was sought to subdue the offender, and to invest punishment with salutary horrors. The system of penal severities has had its full trial, on the largest scale, and under every variety of circumstance; and of the inefficacy of terror to subdue or reform the offender, the annals of crime afford the clearest proof. It is admitted, that the dread of punishment powerfully operates to deter from the commission of crime; and for this purpose, punishment ought to be exemplary. But it is also capable of the clearest proof, that the certainty of detection and punishment tends much more directly to produce this salutary effect, than the

* See Mease's Observations (Philadelphia, 1828), p. 21.

degree of suffering inflicted. Sanguinary laws often defeat their own end, by multiplying the chances of escape or pardon; whereas a steady and effective administration of milder laws, with a vigorous police, has been found to operate far more surely in repressing the increase, and preventing the commission of crime. There can be no doubt that solitary confinement is of dreadful efficacy to tame the wildest, and subdue the most obdurate offender; but so little is it adapted, by itself, to reform the culprit, that that object seems to be almost lost sight of by its advocates; and the prisoner, of whatever character, is regarded as the object of penal vengeance, rather than of reformatory discipline. Labour, it is contended, is either no punishment to the convict, or, at most, one which he does not dread. This must of course depend entirely on the kind and degree of labour, and on the convict's previous habits. But, in this argument, the moral effect of labour is put quite out of sight, as well as the mischievous tendency of "compulsory idleness." * Finally, it deserves inquiry, whether those individuals whom the comforts of a prison would be likely to seduce to the commission of crime, must not be objects of compassion, rather than of rigorous penal

* The reader who is desirous of seeing the question fully argued on both sides, may be referred to Dr. Mease's Observations on the Penitentiary System, already cited, which contains an able but unsatisfactory defence of the system of solitary confinement; and for an opposite view of the subject, to the North Amer. Review, October 1821; to Roscoe on Penal Jurisprudence; and to Mr. Fowell Buxton's Inquiry into our Prison Discipline, London, 1818. See also Seventh Report of Prison Discipline Society, pp. 8, 110. Basil Hall, vol. i. pp. 51—79; vol. ii. pp. 349—355. This Traveller saw a poor boy caged up in a solitary cell, where he had been immured in misery, without a Bible or any kind of book, for nine weeks; his sole offence, having run away twice from the master to whom he was apprenticed!

severities; and whether their degraded and distressed condition does not reflect disgrace and criminality upon the State itself, or the community in which they are found.

It is satisfactory to know, that the Philadelphia prison is the only one in America, in which the plan of absolute solitude has been even thought of. The public feeling, Captain Basil Hall says, is decidedly opposed to this mode of treatment. Upon the whole, the Auburn system, which has been adopted under such admirable management, and with results so satisfactory, in the New York Penitentiary at Sing-sing, appears to combine more advantages with fewer defects than any other hitherto proposed.

Among the causes which have led to the increase of crime in the United States, (although it does not appear that its increase has greatly exceeded in proportion that of the population,) two are so conspicuous as to have attracted the particular attention of the American public. The first is, the degraded character of the people of colour, to which the Committee of the Boston Prison Discipline Society specifically advert as calling for legislative interference. It is, we are told, a fact, that about one-fourth of the total expense incurred in the United States for the support of criminal institutions, is occasioned by such convicts; "a fact which speaks volumes in proof of the connexion of slavery with debasement and of ignorance with vice." * The other cause (termed in a Report of the New York Society for the Prevention of Pauperism, "the cause of causes") is intemperance, chiefly in the use of ardent spirits. To this wide-spreading and growing mischief, the sober-minded part of the population

* Seventh Report of Prison Discipline Society, p. 113.

are fully alive. A Society "for the promotion of Temperance," was established at Boston in January 1826; which has been followed by the formation of a similar society at Andover, and probably, by this time, in various other places. The subject was also brought under the immediate notice of the General Assembly of the Presbyterian Church in the United States, at Philadelphia, in 1828. From the documents issued by these bodies, it appears, that the number of lives annually destroyed by this vice in the United States, is estimated at upwards of 30,000, and "the number of persons who are diseased, distressed, and impoverished by it, at more than 200,000. The average number of paupers annually received into the alms-house at Philadelphia, in the years 1823 to 1826, was 4706. The alms-house at New York and the Penitentiary connected with it, have about 2000 inmates constantly. "Nearly all these people are addicted to intemperance." * Of 623 adults admitted into the Baltimore alms-house in the year ending April 1826, 554 were positively ascertained to have been reduced to pauperism by drunkenness.

How enormous a consumption of ardent spirits there is in the United States, may easily be conceived, when it is considered, that diluted spirits is the national drink, at least in the greater part of the States.† The chief inducements of the lower class to drink, are, the extremes of the climate, the heat of

* Captain Basil Hall, vol. ii. p. 87. The total number of paupers in the United States, is estimated at 200,000, whose support costs annually ten millions of dollars.

† Dr. Dwight, we have seen, denies the accuracy of this observation so far as regards New England, New York, and part of New Jersey, "*except* the recent settlements:" the common drink in those States, he says, is cider. Since he wrote his work, however, the evil has probably spread.

the summer and the severity of the winter, and the low price of domestic spirits, whisky and apple or peach brandy. Yet, open drunkenness is not a common vice; and Captain Basil Hall was alike astonished, he says, in passing through the country, at "the extent of intemperance, and the limited amount of absolute intoxication." The nature of the stimulus taken, supplies an obvious explanation. "What I did see," he adds, "at every corner into which I travelled, north, south, east, or west, was the universal practice of sipping a little at a time, but frequently. In many places, it was the custom to take a dram before breakfast; and in some parts of the country, another was taken immediately after that meal; and so on at intervals, which varied from half an hour to a couple of hours the whole day." "The evil is manifested in almost every walk of life; it contaminates all it touches; and at last, finds its consummation in the alms-house, the penitentiary, or the insane institution." * The nervous disorders, pulmonary complaints, and premature debility of constitution so prevalent in the Atlantic States, are, no doubt, in part induced by the early and intemperate use of deleterious stimulants. Nor are the effects upon the health more deplorable than their baleful and fatal operation upon the moral feeling and character. The

* Basil Hall, vol. ii. pp. 91; 84. It may be, as Cadwallader (Mr. Cooper's *alias*) asserts, that the vice of intoxication or absolute drunkenness, prevails chiefly among recent emigrants. The Irish and the English, he says, when transplanted into "the abundance of America," are the most indiscreet in abusing their *advantages*.—Notions, &c., vol. i. p. 191. What is charged upon the Americans, by their own countrymen, is the propensity to the vice of sottishness. The man is always drinking, yet never drunk, although seldom quite sober. Captain Basil Hall finds the origin of dram-drinking, and its counterpart, in democracy, which is, with him, the root of all evil.

insidious and secret nature of the selfish indulgence, enables the unhappy victim of the passion not unfrequently to elude the suspicion of others, until it has attained a strength and malignity which no moral considerations have been found adequate to combat or arrest. The convivial drunkard may possibly be reclaimed; the sot scarcely ever. He is committing at once a physical and moral suicide, gradual but certain in its issue.

Yet, it would be a very incorrect conclusion, it has been remarked, were an English gentleman to infer from these statements, that, in visiting the United States, he would have to mingle extensively with a class of dram-drinkers. It is true, he would often see the "eternal bar" which has perched itself even on some of the most picturesque spots in the country;* and the mingled smell of whisky and tobacco would occasionally salute his nose. But to charge the better classes generally with these pernicious habits, would be to fall into an error common to the Americans, in judging of English habits from newspaper accounts of the vices and freaks of a few in the fashionable world.

The subject has led us away from Philadelphia, but we must now hasten to resume and complete our description of the city. The Pennsylvania Hospital, founded in 1750, serves at once the several purposes of a Lunatic Asylum, an Infirmary, a Lying-in Hospital, and a Foundling Hospital. It originated chiefly in the exertions of Dr. Franklin and Dr. Thomas Bond. "The building," says Mr. Duncan, "is large, and although of brick, not inelegant; it stands in the centre

* For example, near the prettiest parts of the Trenton Falls, and on each side of the Cauterskill cataract; and that no one should mistake the nature of these odious erections, the letters BAR are written up most conspicuously.—Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 125.

of one of the square divisions formed by the crossing of four streets, and the whole of the surrounding space is the property of the institution. In front is a circular grass-plot, in the centre of which is a statue of William Penn, with the 'charter of privileges' in his hand: it strikingly resembles his portrait in West's well-known painting of his treaty with the Indians.

"This institution, although partially charitable, is not altogether so. No patients are admitted gratuitously, except those of the poorest classes: all others pay a regulated board, which varies from about 15s. to 45s. sterling a week. There are, however, a number of out-door patients, who are attended and supplied with medicines gratuitously, at their own houses. Clinical lectures are regularly delivered to students of anatomy, and the fees are devoted to the support of an Anatomical Museum and Library, to which the students have access. The museum contains many valuable preparations, models, casts, and drawings; the library consists of about 3000 volumes, and both it and the museum are rapidly increasing. The institution is now possessed of another permanent source of revenue, in West's splendid painting of 'Christ healing the sick in the temple,' presented by the venerable President of the Royal Academy, who was a native of Pennsylvania, as a pledge of his regard for the benevolent institutions of his native country. A small building has been erected for exhibiting this picture, and a quarter of a dollar is required for admission." *

The Pennsylvania Asylum for the Deaf and Dumb, established in 1820, deserves honourable mention. "Like most of the charitable institutions in Ame-

* The exhibition of this painting has brought in, on the average, about 1600 dollars per annum.

rica," says Captain B. Hall, "it is admirably managed. The building is not only handsome in its external appearance, but skilfully and commodiously arranged within. The silence and order of a deaf and dumb establishment give it a sort of enchanted appearance. which is very pleasing when things are so ordered as to make the inmates happy. This excellent asylum is amply sustained by voluntary subscriptions, judiciously aided by 8000 dollars a year from the State Government." There is a second institution of the same description, on a smaller scale, which originated in a dispute between the Directors of the Pennsylvania Institution and Mr. Seixas, the first teacher. Among the other benevolent Institutions are several asylums for orphans, widows, aud indigent single women; various associations for the relief or employment of the poor; a Magdalen Society; three or four dispensaries; and a large and splendid naval asylum,—"a sort of Greenwich Hospital." Among the Institutions more directly religious are, a Bible Society, with various subordinate Bible Associations; nine or ten Missionary Societies, including the Board of Missions of the General Assembly; Tract and Prayer-book Societies; a Society for meliorating the condition of the Jews; an Auxiliary Colonization Society; an African Society; a Peace Society; and various others; indicating a great deal of active practical charity and public spirit.

Peale's Museum, originally a private collection, but now under the direction of public trustees, is rising into importance. The grand attraction, Mr. Duncan tells us, is the gigantic skeleton of the mastodon or mammoth. "A human being shrinks into insignificance beside the bony fabric of this enormous antediluvian. The skeleton of the mammoth resembles

very much that of the elephant, carrying, like it, two great tusks in front. The principal difference is found in the grinders; which in the elephant are flat on the top, with the enamel penetrating the whole material, but, in the mammoth, rise into ridges, or processes, as anatomists term them, somewhat as in those of the sheep, with the enamel in the form of an outer crust or case, enveloping, but not penetrating the bone. Some naturalists have supposed from this peculiarity, that the mammoth was a carnivorous animal; but a scientific gentleman remarks to me, that this was impossible, as it has, like the elephant, no front teeth, and its neck is too short, and its tusks too long, to have admitted of its holding and devouring its prey as carnivorous animals do. He thinks it probable, that it lived upon shrubs and the smaller branches of trees, for crushing which, the grinders seem to be well adapted. It only occurs to me in reply to this remark, that the enormous trunk of the mammoth may have served to catch and crush the smaller animals, and convey them into the mouth. Conjecture, however, in such cases, is both unavailing and unimportant; it is sufficient that we have in the existence of these bones unanswerable demonstration, that in earlier times an animal has existed, much more enormous in bulk, than the largest that is now known to tread the surface of the globe. This skeleton, which is, I believe, not so large as some others that have been found, is 11 feet high over the shoulders, and measures 31 feet from the extremity of the tusks to the end of the tail, following the curve. It was found in 1801, in a marl-pit in the State of New York; others have been found near the *licks*, or salt springs, in the State of Ohio. The skeleton is nearly entire, except in the cartilaginous parts, which are supplied by cork.

"An Academy of the Fine Arts was founded here in 1805. It was shortly after incorporated by the legislature, and a building was erected with suitable apartments for study and exhibition rooms. One of the apartments contains a few specimens of antique sculpture, and casts of most of the celebrated statues. Among the modern specimens is a bust of Washington by Canova, and one of West by Chantrey. The painting room is more richly stored, and can boast, if the catalogue is correct, of several paintings by the old masters; among these are three by Titian, one by Raphael, one by Correggio, which is said to have been executed for Charles III. of Spain, and was purchased for 340*l.*, three by Rubens, one by Dominichino, one by Teniers, one by Vandyke, one by Paul Veronese, one by Rembrandt, four by Murillo, and three by Salvator Rosa. These are but a few of the old paintings, and, amongst a crowd of moderns, are some of great merit by native artists, the chief of whom appear to be Allston and Lesslie. From Allston's pencil, is a beautiful picture of the dead man raised to life by touching the bones of the prophet Elisha; and by Lesslie is a painting which I thought excellent, exhibiting William of Deloraine unhorsed and wounded by Lord Cranstoun. His goblin attendant has seated himself on the warrior's helmet, and opened the mysterious book to devour its contents; while an airy phantom, like the spirit of the storm, stretching downwards behind him, extends his arm to prostrate the over-curious imp by the side of the bleeding moss-trooper."

Philadelphia possesses a valuable public library, which owes its origin to the literary taste and public spirit of Franklin, now containing about 24,000 volumes; and another, containing not far short of

5000. There is also an Athenæum, established in 1814, on a smaller scale than that at Boston, but well supplied with British periodical publications, generally within six weeks after their publication. The Friends have a separate library, consisting of about 8000 volumes, principally on theological subjects, and many of them rare. There is also a Law Library, and a Mercantile Library. The library of the Academy of Natural Sciences, is said to contain the most valuable and extensive collection of works on Natural History in the United States. Altogether, there were, in 1824, no fewer than sixteen public libraries in Philadelphia, containing in all upwards of 65,000 volumes.

In a literary point of view, Philadelphia cannot, we are told, as yet compete with Boston; but, in the activity of its press, it is decidedly in advance of any other American city. It is only within a few years, however, that the business of republishing so large a proportion of the English books of value, has been undertaken.* In 1786, four booksellers thought an edition of the New Testament for schools, a work of risk, not to be determined upon till after long deliberation. Four years after, one of these booksellers (Mr. Dobson, a Scotchman) took courage to undertake a republication of the Encyclopædia Britannica. When the first half-volume was published, he had but 246 subscribers. They increased, however, so rapidly, that 2000 copies were thrown off of the second volume; the first was soon reprinted; and in a short time, he

* "Rapidity of publication is as well understood in America as any where. I copy the following from a New York newspaper which has recently reached me (May, 1823):—

"*Despatch in Printing.*—The new novel, Peverll of the Peak, was received from England in New York, on Monday, at ten A.M., and was printed, published, and sold on Tuesday, within twenty-eight hours after the same was received. Another English copy of

soon found it difficult to procure the requisite number of printers and engravers to carry forward the work with sufficient rapidity. Since then, Rees's Cyclopædia, Brewster's Edinburgh Encyclopædia, Nicholson's Encyclopædia. Pinkerton's Voyages and Travels, Gill's Bible, Scott's Bible (two editions), East's Reports, Vesey's Reports, the British Poets (fifty volumes), and several other heavy works, have been reprinted at Philadelphia; together with various editions of Shakspeare, Hume and Smollett, &c. Among the native publications have appeared, Wilson's Ornithology, 9 vols. imperial 4to.; Barton's American Botany, 5 vols. 4to.; and Marshall's Life of Washington. For the copyright of the latter work, the sum of 60,000 dollars was paid. The first *standing* quarto English Bible was set up by Matthew Carey, in Philadelphia, in 1804; and it is still the only standing Bible of separate types. Above two hundred thousand impressions of this Bible have been published. There are now in Philadelphia, two stereotype quarto Bibles, and one of separate types, constantly standing; and between the years 1800 and 1824, there had been thrown off, exclusive of those printed for the Bible Societies, above five hundred thousand quarto and school Bibles. On the 1st of July, 1824, there were in Philadelphia, 55 printing-offices, containing 112 presses, and supporting about

the same work was received per the Custom House, New York, at 12 o'clock on Wednesday; at 1 o'clock forwarded to Philadelphia by the mail. In Philadelphia, it was printed on Thursday, and on Friday, 2000 copies were put in boards by 6 o'clock in the morning. The English copy of Moore's Loves of the Angels was taken out of the Custom House in New York on a Monday in February last, at 11 o'clock A.M.; was immediately sent to Philadelphia; and 250 copies of the work printed, were received at New York on Thursday following by 8 o'clock A.M., and the same copies were sold and circulated that afternoon."—Duncan, vol. i. pp. 263, 4, *note*

2500 workmen; of these, about 20 presses were employed in printing newspapers,* and the remaining 92 chiefly in reprinting English works.

Philadelphia has produced the finest and most accurate specimens of typography that have yet appeared in America; and there is a decided superiority in most of the works printed here, to those executed at either Boston or New York. Here are two letter-foundries and several printing-press makers. The Columbian press, invented by Mr. Clymer, a native of Philadelphia, has been extensively adopted in this country, where the inventor has obtained a British patent.

The first literary journal published in Philadelphia, was the "General Magazine and Historical Chronicle," undertaken by Benjamin Franklin, in 1741: it existed only six months. The next attempt was made by Matthew Carey, who commenced, in 1787, the "American Museum," and carried it on through twelve volumes; but the insufficient patronage which the work obtained, then compelled the editor to abandon it. "The Portfolio," commenced in 1801, is still published in monthly numbers. The "Analectic Magazine," commenced in 1813, was for some time conducted by Mr. Washington Irving; and some of the papers in the Sketch Book originally appeared in its pages. Numerous other literary journals have sprung up within the last twenty-five years, but their

* In 1824, there were eleven daily and seven weekly papers, and one published three times a week. The number of impressions published in the course of the year by all these papers, amounted to an aggregate of 3,080,000, consuming about 8000 reams of paper. The American Daily Advertiser, first printed weekly by John Dunlop in 1771, and made a daily paper in 1784, is the oldest newspaper now published in the United States. The first, however, was published at Philadelphia in 1719.

existence has been for the most part ephemeral. The principal periodicals now issued from the Philadelphia press, are, the Philadelphia Journal of the Medical and Physical Sciences; the American Medical Recorder; and the Journal of Foreign Medical Science and Literature; all three quarterly; and as monthly publications, the Portfolio, the American Monthly Magazine, the Museum of Foreign Literature and Science, the Christian Advocate, and the Reformer.

Philadelphia is the seat of a celebrated college. This institution, begun under the auspices of Dr. Franklin, was originally only an academy and charity-school. Material alterations having been made, at different periods, in its internal management, it was at length incorporated by the State Legislature, first, (in 1755), as the College of Philadelphia; and afterwards (in 1779), on a more extended scale, as the University of Pennsylvania. Although respectable in other departments, this seminary is most highly celebrated as a medical school; in which respect, Mr. Duncan says, Philadelphia is regarded as the Edinburgh of the United States. The building now occupied by the college, was originally destined for the residence of the President of the United States: General Washington having, however, declined the offer of the mansion, it was purchased, in 1798, by the Trustees of the University.

The American Philosophical Society, so well known to the learned in Europe by its valuable Transactions, was also founded chiefly by the exertions of Dr. Franklin. It still maintains its high character. Its library is very valuable, comprising the most complete collection extant of the Memoirs and Transactions of the various learned Institutions in the Old World, (kept

up to the date of the latest publication,) and an extensive collection of historical documents relating to the United States. "Besides the Philosophical Society," Captain B. Hall remarks, "there are various other learned bodies in Philadelphia, of which I shall merely say, that I have seen few similar institutions elsewhere, managed with a more earnest desire to pursue knowledge for its own sake. The inhabitants of Philadelphia, indeed, appear to have more leisure on their hands, than those of any other city in the Union; and accordingly, scientific and literary pursuits are there cultivated with much steadiness and success. This circumstance imparts a peculiar character to the style of thought and of conversation in that city, sufficiently obvious to distinguish the inhabitants from those of most other parts of America." The wealthy *conversaziones* called the Wistar parties, (from their founder the late Dr. Wistar, President of the Philosophical Society,) consisting of most of the men of letters and science or general information in the city, are maintained with much spirit, and, to a stranger properly introduced, form a most agreeable feature of the society of Philadelphia.

This Traveller paid a visit to the tomb of "the American Socrates." In the obscure corner of an obscure burying-ground, well nigh hid in the rubbish, is a large marble slab, laid flat on the ground, with this simple inscription:—

Benjamin and Deborah } Franklin
1790.

"One circumstance about the spot is very striking. No regular path has been made to the grave, which lies considerably out of the road; but the frequent

tread of visiters having pressed down the rank grass which grows in such places, the way to the tombstone is readily found without any guide." *

The room in which the Declaration of Independence was signed, is still standing: "But all the rich panelling, cornices, and ornamental work have been pulled down, and in their place, tame plastering and raw carpentry have been stuck up on the occasion of some recent festival. The Turks who pounded the frieze of the Parthenon," is the caustic comment of this Traveller, "had an object in view; but I never could hear that the Americans had an equally good excuse for dismembering their Hall of Independence."

Philadelphia, though it may still be considered as the centre of the social world in America, has not only ceased to be the seat of the Supreme Government, but even of the State Legislature. In the United States, governments seem to be as migratory as the people. That of Pennsylvania was first transferred to Lancaster, sixty-two miles to the westward; but, as this town was thrown out of the centre of the fast-spreading circle of population, an act of the Assembly directed the removal of the provincial capital still further back, to Harrisburgh, on the eastern bank of the Susquehanna, 97 miles W. N. W. of Philadelphia. This town is said to be laid out on the same plan as the city of Penn, and "promises, in the grandeur of its public buildings, to outstrip the parent city." † But in America, the convention of a State legislature is a circumstance unattended with any attractive pomp or

* B. Hall, vol. ii. p. 372, 3. "Franklin wrote a humorous epitaph for himself; but his good taste and good sense shewed him, how unsuitable to his living character it would have been, to jest in such a place.

† F. Wright, p. 74.

splendour,—a matter of dry business or of unpleasant turmoil; and the nominal capital is often a mere village or a sort of watering place. Philadelphia is still the focus of intelligence, as well as of wealth and business, in this part of the Union; and before we take leave of this ex-metropolis, it may be expected, that we should advert to the representations of Travellers on the subject of American manners.

According to the decision of the vivacious Marquis de Chastellux, echoed by Lieutenant Hall, and adopted, on his authority, by M. Malte Brun, society "is yet in its infancy in America;" that is to say, it has not attained the graces and refinement which are to be found in the highest circles in European capitals. "In Philadelphia," says the English Traveller, "public amusements are nothing, and the fine arts are little considered, because every man is sufficiently occupied with his own business.* For the same reason, questions of mere speculation in literature or philosophy, would be looked upon as a waste of time. In morality, every thing is precise; in religion, all is dogma. It may seem strange, that a people so generally well informed as the Americans, should be so little sensible to literary enjoyments: not less curious is it, that the freest people upon earth should be strait-laced in morality and dogmatical in religion. A moment's consideration will solve this seeming inconsistency. The

* "When music and the fine arts come to prosper in Philadelphia," says De Chastellux; "when society once becomes easy and gay, and they learn to accept of pleasure when it presents itself without a formal invitation, then may foreigners enjoy all the advantages peculiar to their manners and government, without envying any thing in Europe." This sentiment is natural as coming from a Parisian.

Americans read for improvement, and to make a practical application of their knowledge: they collect honey for the hive, not to lavish its sweetness in social intercourse. Hence, the form is less considered than the matter; but it is the form which is principally the subject of taste. There is besides, a principle of economy running through every department of society in the States: it is a saving of time to import books, rather than to write them; hence, there is no class of authors, no literary emulation. Criticism loses its interest, when confined to the productions of foreigners; they may be read for profit or amusement, but they cannot be discussed, either in their faults or beauties, with the feeling inspired by the writings of compatriots,* whose reputation every member of society feels as connected with his own, and their glory as part of his patrimony. Again, piquancy in conversation supposes a certain *persiflage*, a latitude in opinion which allows every thing to be said on every subject, provided it be said well. This kind of freedom, which appertains, perhaps, to a corruption of existing institutions, is singularly inapplicable to a country in which all moral duties are positive, and whatever is positive, admits of neither speculation nor discussion.....Politics are, indeed, a subject of high interest, whether in action or in speculation; but, for this very reason, they are scarcely a fit topic for social relaxation: they are a part of every man's business, and are discussed as such. A pleasure, too, which excludes the female half of society, scarcely belongs to the class of social enjoyments: yet, the interest it excites, will probably long render the Americans careless of the lighter beauties of conversational pleasure.

* This Writer's expressions, like his notions, are often strikingly French, and wear sometimes the air of translation.

"The American, silent and reflecting, occupies himself very little with the effect of what he says. *Briller dans la Société*, is, to him, an unmeaning phrase. His politeness, therefore, is no reflection of his feelings,* but an artificial form he has borrowed to hide a vacuum: and what should have induced a sensible people to borrow a trapping so unsuited to their character? The vanity, probably, to rival the nations of Europe in manners as well as in arts and power. The French led the *ton* in fashions; and accident gave French fashions a double advantage in America.....Female accomplishments are in the same predicament with male politeness: they are cultivated on a principle of vanity, to imitate the ladies of Europe; but they seldom enrich the understanding, or give elegance to the manners. Like the men, the ladies fall into the mistake of confounding fashions with manners, and think they import Parisian graces with Parisian bonnets. Nay, this is little; they have improved the commodity: the American ladies, as I have heard an American lady modestly observe, 'unite French grace with English modesty.' Happy combination, did it not neutralize the whole compound!

"Let us view them in their perihelion, at a ball or an assembly. Chairs are arranged in a close semi-

* This remark is meant to apply to the manners only of the American; the "varnish" of politeness. "A Frenchman is as anxious to please as he appears, because his vanity is gratified by success; his politeness is the *natural* expression of this anxiety, and pleases as something natural." Not a particle of American politeness, De Chastellux tells us, is the result of sentiment. "Politeness here, is like religion in Italy, every thing in practice, but without any principle." Yet, the substantial good-nature of the Americans is unquestionable. "The Americans have in general," says Lieutenant Hall, "a friendship of manner which could not fail to please, would they let the stream take its natural course, without torturing it into artificial *jets d'eau*."

circle; the ladies file into the room, and silently take their seats beside each other, the men occupying the chord of the segment, vis-a-vis to their fair foes (for such their cautious distance and rare communication would indicate them to be): the men in this situation discuss trade and politics; the ladies, fashions and domestic incidents, with all the quiet and gravity becoming the solemnity of the meeting: tea and coffee are handed about, and in due process of time, cakes, and lemonade, &c. Should there be no dancing, the forces draw off, after having for several hours thus reconnoitred each other. When they dance, the men step forward, and, more by gesture than word, indicate their wishes to their fair partners. Cotillons then commence, with a gravity and perseverance almost pitiable. 'Dancing,' says the Marquis de Chastellux, 'is said to be at once the emblem of gayety and of love: here, it seems to be the emblem of legislation and marriage.' The animation displayed by the feet, never finds its way into the countenance, to light up the eye, or deepen the rose on the cheek.

"I have thus far touched on the deficiencies of American women; let me speak their praise. Their good qualities are of a sterling kind. Good wives, good mothers, prudent housekeepers, they may bid defiance to the satirist, until they quit the hallowed circle of domestic virtues, to flutter heavily on the light airs of vanity: through their affectation only, are they vulnerable." *

These observations, founded on the experience of a single traveller, and obviously tinctured with his own peculiar views and predilections, cannot be deemed entitled to implicit reception. In the eyes of many

* F. Hall, pp. 227—234.

persons, some of the characteristics of American society here imputed to them as faults, may appear closely related to virtues. Lieutenant Hall travelled, it must also be recollected, fourteen years ago; since which time, fashions and manners may have undergone material changes. Yet, the general fidelity of the picture he has drawn, is amply supported by other and more recent testimony. Mr. Adam Hodgson, who travelled through almost the whole of the Union a few years later, has stated with much candour and discrimination the impressions he received of the American character in his extensive tour; and his remarks upon the different classes, are peculiarly interesting.

"If, in opposition to their republican principles, we divide the Americans into classes, the first class will comprehend what are termed the Revolutionary Heroes, who hold a sort of patent of nobility, undisputed by the bitterest enemies to aristocracy. Their numbers, indeed, are few; but they have too many peculiar features to be comprised in the description of any other class of their countrymen. Many of them were educated in England; and even those who never travelled, had generally the advantage of the best English society, either colonial or military. They were formed in the English school; were embued with English associations; and, however active they were in resisting the encroachments of the mother country, they are, many of them at least, delighted to trace their descent to English families of rank, and to boast of the pure English blood which flows in their veins. In the families of these patricians, in which I have spent many agreeable hours, I met with nothing to remind me that I was not in the society of that class of our well-educated country gentlemen, who occa-

sionally visit the metropolis, and mingle in fashionable or political life. The *old* gentlemen of this class, are indeed *gentlemen* of the old school; and the young ladies are particularly agreeable, refined, accomplished, intelligent, and well-bred.

"The second class may include the leading political characters of the present day, the more eminent lawyers, the well-educated merchants and agriculturists, and the most respectable of the *novi homines* of every profession. It will thus comprise the mass of the good society of America; the first class, which comprehends the best, being very limited, *sui generis*, and about to expire with the present generation. The manners of this second class are less polished than those of the corresponding class in England, and their education is neither so regular nor so classical; but their intellects are as actively exercised, and their information at least as general, although less scientific and profound. The young ladies of this class are lively, modest, and unreserved; easy in their manners, and rather gay and social in their dispositions: at the same time, they are very observant of the rules of female propriety; and if they ever displease, it is from indifference, rather than from either bashfulness or effrontery. Their appearance is generally genteel and agreeable; their figures are almost universally good, and they dress remarkably well,—in this city (Philadelphia), indeed, more to my taste than in almost any place I recollect. For this, they are indebted, partly to the short passages from Europe, which waft across the Atlantic the latest fashions from London and Paris; partly to their accommodating tariff, which places within their reach the beautiful Canton crapes, and all the most elegant materials for dress which American enterprise can collect in the four quarters of the globe; and partly to

the simplicity of the Quaker costume, which has had a happy and sensible influence on the taste and habits of the community at large.* Their tone of voice, which is generally a little shrill, and their mode of pronouncing a few particular words, are the peculiarities of manner which, I think, would be most remarked upon in the best society in England. Generally speaking, also, the style of female education in America is less favourable to solid acquirements, than with us.† The young ladies here go earlier into society than in England, and enter sooner into married life; they have not, therefore, the same opportunities for maturing their taste, expanding their intellect, and acquiring a rich store of well-arranged and digested knowledge, as those have, who have devoted to improvement the longer interval which climate or custom has, with us, interposed between the nursery and the drawing-room. In the highest class, especially in Carolina, there are many exceptions to this general remark; and among the young ladies of Boston, there appeared to me to be, if less of refinement than in the Carolinians, yet, a very agreeable union of domestic habits and literary taste, and great kindness and simplicity of manners.

"The third class may comprehend all below the second; for, in a country where some would, perhaps,

* "The Philadelphia ladies," Mr. Howison says, "are prettier and more genteel than those of New York; though the Quaker garb, which many of them assume, is unfavourable for the display of their attractions. Many of them have beautiful complexions, and walk very gracefully. The young men are altogether inferior to the New York dandies, both in their persons and style of dress." —Howison, p. 350.

† See page 346 of our first volume. Dr. Dwight complains of the superficial education bestowed upon his fair countrywomen.—See Travels, vol. iv. p. 461.

resent even the idea of a second class, this division is sufficiently minute. This class will include the largest proportion of the American population; and it is distinguished from the corresponding classes of my countrymen, (the little farmers, inn-keepers, shop-keepers, clerks, mechanics, servants, and labourers,) by greater acuteness and intelligence, more regular habits of reading, a wider range of ideas, and a greater freedom from prejudices, provincialism, and vulgarity.* It is distinguished, also, by greater *coldness of manner;* and this is the first of the charges against the nation, generally, on which I shall remark.

"As respects the highest classes, I think this charge is, in a great measure, unfounded: their reception of a stranger, at least, appeared to me as frank and as warm as in England. To that part of the population which I have included in the third class, the charge attaches with strict propriety; and in many cases, their coldness amounts to the English 'cut direct.' At first, it incommoded me excessively, especially in the women in the country, who shewed it the most; and I have sometimes been disposed to ride on, not in the best temper, when, arriving at an inn after a long stage before breakfast, and asking very civilly, 'Can we have breakfast here?' I have received a shrill 'I reckon so,' from a cold female figure, that went on with its employments, without deigning to look at us, or to put any thing in motion to verify its reckoning. In due time, however, the bread was baked, the chicken killed, and both made their appearance, with their constant companions, even in the wildest part of America, ham, eggs, and coffee. The automaton then took its place; and if I had been an automaton also, the charm would have remained unbroken;

* See page 337 of our first volume.

but I do not remember an instance in which the figure did not converse with good humour before I rose. Very often, however, our reception was warm and friendly; and the wife, or daughter, who poured out my coffee, was frank, well bred, obliging, and conversable. The coldness of the men, also, I found to be confined principally to their manner, and to indicate no indisposition to be sociable and accommodating. On the contrary, in a route of more than seven thousand miles, of which I travelled nearly two thousand on horseback, and the rest in steam-boats and stages, I have found the various classes as accommodating and obliging as in England: sometimes, I confess, I have thought more so. Some parts of Georgia and the Carolinas, might suggest a slight qualification of this remark; while East Tennessee and the valley of the Shenandoah might almost claim a warmer eulogy. In the course of my route, I have met with only one instance of personal rudeness, and that too slight to be mentioned, except for the sake of literal accuracy. My servant's impressions correspond to mine. On questioning him at the termination of our route, he said, 'he thought the Americans quite as ready to serve us, and one another, as the English; and that they were continually expressing their surprise to find Englishmen so civil.' Now, our civility was nothing more than would naturally be suggested by a recollection of the institutions of the country through which we were travelling, and a general desire to be pleased with friendly intentions, however manifested. The coldness of manner in the Americans, however, is a great defect, and must prejudice travellers till they understand it a little.

"With regard to the *vanity* which is charged upon them, this foible is admitted by all their sensible men,

who are disgusted with the extravagant pretensions maintained, in inflated language, in their public prints. I have heard some of them jocosely say, that they expect their countrymen will soon begin to assert, that they are not only the most powerful and the most learned, but the oldest nation in the world. In good society, however, I have seldom witnessed this vanity in any remarkable degree: and I really think, I have seen more of it in the Americans I have met with in England, than in the whole range of my observation since I landed in this country. When I have made the concessions to which I thought the Americans fairly entitled, I have not often observed a disposition to push their claims too far; but, on the contrary, a readiness to suggest some point of comparison in which Great Britain has obviously the advantage. And without attempting to defend an acknowledged defect in their character, I must confess, the Americans have some excuse for their vanity. Descended (which of us will dispute it?) from *most illustrious ancestors*, possessing a territory, perhaps, unequalled in extent and value, victorious in the infancy of their history, in a struggle for their independence, and rising with unprecedented rapidity in the scale of nations, they must be more than mortal if they were not elated with their condition. And if sometimes they may appear to draw too heavily on the future, and to regard America as what she is to be, rather than what she is, I must own, that I never yet met with an American who carried his views of her future greatness so far as I should be disposed to do, if she were my country, and if I could be satisfied of the predominating influence of religious principle in her public councils." *

* Hodgson, vol. ii. p. 25—32.

With regard to certain other peculiarities and defects in American manners, Mr. Hodgson remarks, that their inquisitiveness has not been at all exaggerated, but it naturally arises from their migratory habits. "Where are you from, and whither bound?" are not deemed impertinent interrogations at sea; and in the western wilds, our Traveller says, he found himself in like manner making inquiries which he should have thought "free and easy" at home. The almost universal practice of spitting, without regard to time, place, or circumstances, he admits to be a sore nuisance and offence. In the Capitol itself, the dignity of the Senate is let down by this annoying habit; and the splendid carpets of the most beautiful hall in the country, have found no favour in the eyes of these inveterate consumers of the Virginian weed. Although no precedent can justify the offence in a civilized community, Mr. Hodgson very properly remarks, that the practice is by no means so peculiar to the Americans, as some English writers have chosen to represent. In France, in Spain, in Italy, in Germany, in Sweden, among courtiers and royal governors, not less than among republican diplomatists, this intolerable practice is notoriously prevalent. To another sin against good-breeding chargeable upon the Americans, he does not advert; to wit, the lolling back, balanced, on the two hind legs of a chair, with the feet placed on a table or desk, and this in open court or in polite circles; so elevating the heels above the head, and illustrating at once, in the opinion of Captain Basil Hall, the principles and the practice of democracy. But this practice also, unfortunately for this Writer's theory, is not peculiarly American. The English residents in India are in the constant habit of indulging in it;—a proof, it has been remarked,

that it proceeds from the enfeebled circulation consequent on a relaxing climate, rather than from democratic principles.*

Captain Basil Hall "considers America and England as differing more from one another than any two European nations he ever visited;" but he seems to refer less to a difference of manners, than of habits of thinking; and he founds his strange opinion chiefly on the difficulty he had in making himself understood.† To a foreigner, the shades of difference between the English and the Americans, seem to melt into each other. "The English character," says an intelligent Russian Traveller, "may be distinctly seen in all the customs of the inhabitants of that country. The construction of their houses, their dress, food, and even amusements, are the same as in England, excepting those stronger or weaker shades of difference which local circumstances and the nature of a government purely democratical, necessarily impress on the character and habits of the North Americans."‡ The fact is, that the traits of dissimilarity are rendered, to an Englishman, the more palpable and unpleasing, by the closeness of the resemblance. "If our elder

* "The object of the luxury is, to facilitate the return of the blood from the extremities, by placing the feet highest, and so bringing gravity in aid: it produces a peculiar sense of satisfaction, a kind of *bien-être inexprimable*. At a dinner party, when the ladies have retired, it is a common thing for the gentlemen to smoke their *hookahs* with their feet upon the table."—Westminster Review, No. xxii. p. 427.

† Captain Basil Hall, it must be recollected, is not an Englishman; and having passed nearly all his life at sea, his opportunities of becoming acquainted with English manners, have been evidently very limited. Edinburgh and London seem to be his England, as Paris is France to a Parisian.

‡ Sketch of the United States, by a Russian (Baltimore, 1826). See North American Review, No. liii. p. 448.

brother," remarks an American Writer, "regards with scorn all deviations from his own standard of notions, even in those who speak a different tongue, and live under different laws from his own, he suffers a sort of angry surprise when he sets foot on these shores of his own planting. Here, every thing is at once *aliud et idem*,—the same, yet not exactly the same with what he has been accustomed to see at home. Where language, dress, manners, and modes of all sorts are wholly different, comparison is less easy, or their respective merits must be adjusted by the general fitness of things, which always leaves much to be said on both sides. But here, where he sees a prevailing similarity to his own institutions, and where the general imitation on our part seems an acknowledgement of superiority on his, the particular differences, arising out of physical and moral circumstances, are apt to strike him as awkward resemblances, rather than as intended deviations. He is less lenient towards them for much the same reason that he ridicules more unsparingly a Scotchman's or an Irishman's blunders in English, than those of a Spaniard or an Italian. It is pretty obvious, in short, without recurring to more serious causes of difference, why we should meet with less grace at the hands of England, than of countries which, having fewer affinities with ourselves, might seem, at first, less likely to appreciate us fairly.....It may be, that we sometimes put forth exorbitant pretensions, and, while enjoying that general content and competency which seem destined to exist but at one stage in the progress of a community, would claim credit for refinements which are purchased mostly at the price of a too abundant population, of inequality of property, and

of all the unpalatable fruits of these to the less fortunate classes of luxurious States." *

In these candid and truly philosophical remarks, we have the true solution of the apparent paradox; and they will furnish our readers with a key to the various and often contradictory statements and opinions of British Travellers on the subject of American manners.

It has been asserted, that the English language, as spoken by the generality of the inhabitants of the United States, is purer and more correct than in the mother country, where it is disguised by so many provincial dialects. For this fact, it is not difficult to account. Provincial peculiarities spring up in proportion as the inhabitants of a district are isolated from their surrounding neighbours, possess the means of supplying their own wants, and are strangers to letters. They vanish before the amalgamating effects of mutual intercourse and education. In the United States, the uniformity of the conventional medium is secured by the free and constant intercourse that is going forward throughout the Union, and the mercantile and migratory habits of the people; but for its purity, they are indebted to the general system of elementary education. Owing to this circumstance, Mr. Cooper tells us, that "the language, instead of becoming more divided into provincial dialects, is becoming not only more assimilated to itself as a whole, but more assimilated to a standard which sound general principles and the best authorities would justify. The distinctions in speech between New England and New York or Pennsylvania, or any other State, were

* North American Review, No. III. pp. 441, 2.

far greater twenty years ago, than they are now." * There is much more difference observable in intonation and in the pronunciation of particular words, than in the use of terms unknown to England. The best English is spoken, according to this Writer, by the natives of the Middle States, who are purely the descendants of English parents, not of emigrants from New England. Throughout all New England, and among most of the descendants of Yankee emigrants, the language is spoken with an intonation derived originally from the western counties of England, and with a peculiarity of pronunciation that is most discernible in the manner in which they dwell on the last word of a sentence, or the last syllable of a word, notwithstanding that all the previous members of the sentence are uttered with remarkable rapidity. The people of the Middle States, especially in Maryland, are said to speak "a softer English" than their brethren in New England; but any thing like a general rule in this respect, is precluded by the number of Yankee emigrants distributed over the whole country. New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore have each their peculiar phrases;† and there is, among the women especially, a proneness to dwell on the final syllables. On going further south, you meet with a slower utterance, with other slight provincialisms. In Georgia, you find a positive drawl, which prevails, more or less, in the western and south-western

* "The phrase, 'I wonder if he did,' is very common in New England. It is usually uttered, 'I wonder if he *de-e-e-e-ed*,' with a falling of the voice at the last word to nearly an octave below the rest of the sentence. Sometimes, there is more than one resting point in a sentence of any length."

† The "I guess," which is ever in the mouth of the Yankee, is changed by the New Yorker into "I suspect," while the Virginian phrase is, "I reckon."

States. But upon the whole, the English language is spoken with fewer provincial variations and vulgarisms, probably, by the natives of the United States, than it is by the inhabitants of the different counties of England; and it no where degenerates into a *patois*.*

The country in the neighbourhood of Philadelphia is very beautiful, and there are many pleasant villas and flourishing little towns on the banks of both rivers. The soil upon which the city stands, is of alluvial formation, consisting of clay of various hues and degrees of tenacity, mixed with sand and gravel. Beneath this, at a depth varying from 20 to 40 feet, vegetable remains have been found, as also on the opposite shore of New Jersey; indicating, in connexion with other facts, that this land has been gained from the sea. The original coast is supposed to have been a reef of rocks (composed of gneiss, micaceous schist, &c.), from two to six miles in breadth, rising generally a little higher than the adjoining land, and extending from New York westwardly, by the falls of the Delaware, Schuylkill, Susquehanna, Gunpowder, Patapsco, Potomac, Rappehannoc, James River, and Roanoke; forming a regular curve.† The water in the wells is very impure, being impregnated with a large proportion of saltpetre, common sea-salt, magnesia, and chalk. The city is, however, furnished with a copious supply of pure water, conveyed in pipes from the Fair Mount water-works on the Schuylkill, about two miles from

* Notions of the Americans, vol. ii. pp. 165—176.

† Mease. See page 223 of our first volume. The clay has, of course, been brought down by the floods, and has been mixed with the sand thrown up by the sea.

the city. Of those magnificent works, the citizens are not a little proud.

At Bordentown, 26 miles above the city, on the west bank of the Delaware, is the seat of the Ex-king of Spain, Joseph Bonaparte, who has assumed the title of Count de Survilliers. It is situated on the brow of a hill, surrounded with a dense forest of pines. Here he lives in the midst of a large circle of friends and dependents, but mingling little with the native society, not speaking the language. He is said to be unassuming when he appears in public, and is rather in favour with the republicans of this region.* Besides the ex-king, there are, a son of Lucien, who is married to the eldest daughter of Joseph, a son of Jerome by his American wife, and two sons of the unfortunate Murat. Charles, the son of Lucien, who is distinguished by his devotion to science, has children born in the country, who are consequently possessed of the rights of natives; and it is probable that, in a few years, the name of Bonaparte will be found in the rolls of the American Congress! At Trenton, four miles above Bordentown, was the seat of General

* Some years ago, the mansion of the Count de Survilliers was accidentally burned down, and some valuable pictures and statues were destroyed. The inhabitants of the neighbouring village having been very active in attempting to save the costly furniture, the Count, shortly after, addressed a card of thanks to them through the medium of the newspapers; in which he assured them, that he regarded the scrupulous honesty and undaunted courage which had characterized their exertions, as proofs that the inhabitants of Bordentown properly appreciated the interest which he had always felt for them. A somewhat saucy reply appeared, in which the Count was given to understand, that the people did not relish being thanked for common honesty; and that in rendering him their assistance, they had been actuated by the common impulses of humanity. But this offence has been well nigh forgotten.

Moreau, while a resident in America; and on the banks of the Schuylkill, the notorious General Vandamme has a fine villa.

Of the interior of Pennsylvania, neither our limits nor our materials will enable us to give a very minute account; but the route of Lieutenant F. Hall (in 1817), from the Niagara frontier to Philadelphia, through the heart of this State, will afford a general idea of the aspect of the country.

FROM LAKE ERIE TO PHILADELPHIA.

THE dreary wilderness which, a few years before, extended from Lake Erie, this Traveller found thickly settled, but the country wore a dull and uniform aspect, being an absolute flat. In a dry autumn, water becomes scarce here in many places. This evil is not uncommon, Lieutenant Hall remarks, in newly settled districts. "Draining follows clearing, and the creeks, no longer fed by the swamps, disincumbered also of fallen trunks of trees and other substances, by which their waters were in a great degree stayed, easily run dry in summer, and soon fail altogether. Allan's Creek, between Batavia and Caledonia, seems, from the banks still remaining at some distance from the present channel, to have been once a considerable river; as was its neighbour, the stream of Caledonia, by the same token." Caledonia, a stage of seventeen miles from Batavia, on the great Albany road,* was, at this time, a small, but flourishing village, with a handsome inn. "Close to the road is a sheet of water, covering seven or eight acres, called the Great Spring, from which a clear and rapid

* See p. 267 of our first volume.

stream descends through a pleasing valley into Allan's Creek, before the latter unites with the Genessee River. Its banks are adorned with natural groves and copses, in which the candleberry myrtle is seen in great abundance. A more interesting sight is the quantity of organic remains with which the blocks of limestone scattered through the low ground round it are encrusted, as if with rude sculpture: they are mixed with nodules of granite, and present innumerable forms both of shells and aquatic plants. The shells were frequently attached to stones, and imbedded in sand, evincing their comparatively recent deposition."

At Avon, Lieutenant Hall quitted the main road, and following the right bank of the Genessee, began, soon after crossing the stream of Lake Comesus, to fall in with the spurs of the Alleghany ridges. "The scenery here improves, and the roads proportionably deteriorate. Wild even to savageness, mountain heights branch thickly across the country with no seeming order or direction, like so many gigantic mole-hills. The only level ground is the narrow alluvion of the streams, which the road is, as often as possible, taught to follow. The Genessee river seems to bound the limestone region in this direction. The Alleghany ridges, less rugged and precipitous than granite mountains, are bolder and more irregular than the limestone heights, which have a nearer resemblance to long terraces of masonry. The woods round the Genessee, abound with large, black squirrels, some of which are as big as a small cat: they are destructive to grain, and are therefore keenly pursued by sportsmen, who frequently make parties, and effect the destruction of several thousands at one chase. Their flesh is considered as a delicacy. They migrate at different sea-

sons, and have the credit of ingeniously ferrying themselves over rivers, by using a piece of bark for a raft, and their tail for a sail." * .

After leaving Danville, (28 miles from Avon,) the road crosses a creek, winds for three miles up a steep acclivity, and then continues through swampy forests to Canisteo. Close to the little village of Arkport, the Tyoga branch of the Susquehanna rises, in a meadow by the road side. Arkport has received its name from the low, flat boats, called arks, which are built there, and used on the Tyoga and Susquehanna, the head waters of which are not deep enough for other craft, and for this, only during the rainy season. The country is, in this part, very rugged and thinly settled. Villages are separated by a distance of fifteen or twenty miles, with few intermediate cottages. Betwixt Canisteo and Bath, a stage of twenty miles, there were not more than a dozen houses, though improvements were going on. The settlements are, for the most part, on the narrow alluvial tracts of the creeks and rivers; but even there, the soil is of an inferior quality. Our Traveller found the roads deep and miry with heavy falls of rain, although, west of the mountains, there had been but one wet day during the autumn. The clouds which come charged with moisture from the Atlantic, are frequently arrested by these heights, and disgorge their contents without passing into the western country.

Bath is built on the Conhocto Creek, embosomed in wild mountains. The principal houses are built round the three sides of a green, and being most of them new, white, and tastefully finished, had a lively

* "Olaus Wormius tells us the same story of the Norwegian squirrels, and Linnæus authorizes the belief."

appearance, which formed an agreeable contrast with the dark mountain scenery that opens on the fourth side. From this place, a road leads off by the shores of the Crooked Lake, to Jerusalem, "the village of the Elect Lady Jemima Wilkinson, and her sect of Friends." The road pursued by Lieutenant Hall, follows the Conhocto branch of the Tyoga, crossing the creek twice in six miles; and at the end of about 30 miles, leads to New-town or Elmira, pleasantly situated on the edge of the Tyoga. The next stage, of 20 miles, is to Tyoga Point, situated at the confluence of that river with the eastern branch of the Susquehanna, flowing from the Kaatskill mountains. From the heights round the village, the eye commands a majestic view of the two rivers descending in opposite directions between their mountainous banks, and, below their junction, pursuing their united course through a similar tract of wild and picturesque country. The village itself is singularly neat, containing several houses finished with elegance, and a good tavern. The surrounding hills and forests abound with deer and pheasants; nor are wolves and bears uncommon.

The traveller has now entered the State of Pennsylvania, the frontier line (under the parallel of 42°) being crossed between a place called Painted Post * and Tyoga Point. Crossing the Susquehanna, at a ferry, Lieutenant Hall continued his route along the eft bank, through a desert of rocks and forest, to Le Fevre's Inn,—a log-hut amid the wildest regions of the Alleghany, tenanted by a French refugee family

* The painted post, an Indian memorial, whether of triumph or of death, is no longer standing: the name alone remains.

of that name. * Thence, following the course of the river, through Wyalusing, to Punkhannock, a stage of 28 miles; and in another stage of the same distance, he arrived at Wilkesbarre. "The banks of the Susquehanna," says our Traveller, "have no great variety of scenery, though they frequently present grand features. The space between the mountains and the river, is often so narrow, that it barely suffices for one carriage; and in many places, the road, for a mile or two, seems to have been hewn from the rock. Should two carriages meet in one of these passes, it is difficult to imagine by what contrivance they could be extricated: the population of this tract of country is, however, so scanty, that a dilemma of this kind would be a phenomenon in travelling. Occasionally, round the creeks, there is some tolerable land, and two or three pleasant villages; among which, Wyalusing may, perhaps, image

* "During the French Revolution, a number of emigrants, several of them men of rank and property, purchased a tract of land on the Scioto, for the purpose of founding a city of refuge. In this purchase they were misled, either by their own want of information, or by the knavery of their agents; and finding a settlement on the Scioto impracticable, they removed to Chemingo, on the Tyoga. Here, again, they were not more fortunate; the scanty alluvion round the foot of these rocky mountains, is little likely to repay hardier cultivators; and for the third time, this wandering colony transported itself to the right bank of the Susquehanna, betwixt Wysall and Wyalusing, where they astonished the inhabitants by building many-windowed villas, and cutting roads across the mountains to hunt deer and foxes. They named their village Frenchtown. Considering its barren site, it is probable they must shortly have resolved on a fourth pilgrimage, when change of circumstances enabled them to return to France, leaving their airy halls to be tenanted by crows, and wondered at by all the farmers in the neighbourhood. One family, however, remained behind, and crossing the river to avoid starvation, set up this little inn."—F. Hall, p. 204.

what Wyoming was; but it cannot be said, that the deer

"Unhunted seeks his woods and wilderness again"—

for I heard a cry of hounds as I stopped to breakfast, and the game was swimming the river. The face of the landscape is no where bare. Mountain and vale are alike clothed with pine and dwarf or scrub oak; the swamp lands are covered with hemlock, and the bottoms of the woods with the rhododendron. I was informed, that land in this part of the country, though naturally very poor, had been so much improved of late, by the use of gypsum, that its value was raised from five to fifteen dollars per acre.

"Wilkesbarre is a neat town, regularly laid out, on the left bank of the Susquehanna. Its locality is determined by the direction of one of the Alleghany ridges, which recedes from the course of the river, a few miles above the town, and curving S.W., encloses a semi-circular plot of land, towards the centre of which it is built. Its neighbourhood abounds in coal. The pits are about a mile N.E. of the town. They lie under strata of a soft clay-slate, containing impressions of fern, oak-leaves, and other vegetables usually found in such situations. The coal has a bright polished appearance; its strata are slightly angular. They contain iron, pyrites, and saltpetre, and are traversed by veins of charcoal. The theory of the formation of coal from decayed timber, is strengthened by a view of the site of these pits..... The town itself has a quiet, rural aspect, from the frequent separation of its streets and houses, by grass fields and gardens. It contains a neat church, allotted to the alternate use of Episcopalians and Pres-

byterians. The Town Hall was occupied, on the Sunday of my visit, by the Methodists.

"Wilkesbarre is classic ground to an Englishman: it is built on the site of Wyoming. A small mound is pointed out near the river, on which stood the fort; and the incursion of the Indians, when most of the inhabitants fell in an unsuccessful battle, is still remembered. Some few escaped by swimming the river, and fled through the woods for several days, till they reached the nearest settlement;—and this is all the record of Albert and Gertrude. The lover of poetry, who would half realize the fictions of the Muse, on the spot which she has glorified with the creations of her fancy, cannot help regretting that the bard should have assisted in some degree to destroy the illusion, by introducing in his descriptions features of scenery as foreign to Pennsylvania as the sweetly-meditative Gertrude herself; who, had she been as solid a reality as any buxom lass of Wilkesbarre, must have been content to lack the bright plumage of the 'flamingo,' 'the 'palm-trees' shade,' the 'aloes,' and even the roaring waterfall: for the falls near Wilkesbarre are ledges of rock, merely sufficient to break the current. Yet, Wyoming shall outlive the name and splendour of many a bloated, burgess-fattening city, and 'still look green in song.'" *

At Wilkesbarre, the road quits the Susquehanna, and ascending the ridge, (marked in the maps as Mount Ararat,) crosses several heads of the Lehigh, passing through heavy forests and hemlock swamps, very thinly interspersed with settlements. About 17 miles from Wilkesbarre, our Traveller found a neat inn kept by an Englishman. At the end of 12

* F. Hall, pp. 207—210.

miles further, he reached a wretched tavern on the summit of the Pokona mountain, the gradual declivities of which, bare of timber, are more like an English heath, than an American mountain; it is famous among the sportsmen and epicures of Philadelphia for its grouse. Like all the Alleghany ridges, it is steepest on the eastern side. Lieutenant Hall passed "the Blue Ridge" at a stupendous fissure called the Wind Gap, where the mountain seems to have been forcibly broken through, and it is strewed with the ruins of rocks. A similar aperture, some miles to the N.E., called the Water Gap, affords a passage to the Delaware.* The road now descends into a limestone valley lying between the Blue Ridge and the Lehigh Ridge, within the limits of which are the Moravian settlements of Bethlehem and Nazareth. The former, which is the principal settlement of the Brethren in North America, is very pleasantly situated on the river Lehigh, which falls into the Delaware, 53 miles north of Philadelphia: it is frequently visited, during the summer season, by gentry from different parts.† Nazareth, ten miles north of Bethlehem, stands in the centre of a tract of good land, containing about 5000 acres, originally purchased by the Rev. George Whitfield in 1740, and afterwards sold by him to the Brethren. The town was laid out in 1772. About a mile and a half from Nazareth, there is a third settlement, which, though small, exceeds both the others, Lieut. Hall says, "in the calm and pensive beauty of its appearance. The houses, like all within this valley, are built of limestone. They are all upon a

* Mr. Jefferson supposes, from the best information he could obtain, that the river originally passed through the Wind Gap. Notes on Virginia, p. 335. See also Weld, p. 450.

† See Weld, p. 457

similar plan, and have their window-frames, doors, &c. painted of a fawn colour. Before each are planted weeping willows, whose luxuriant shade seems to shut out worldly glare, and throws an air of monastic repose over the whole village." *

The Lehigh mountain is the last of the Alleghany ridges in this direction. The country to the south-eastward is level and fertile, "thickly inhabited by sturdy Germans, in broad hats and purple breeches, whose houses and villages have the antique fashion of a Flemish landscape. German is so generally spoken, that the newspapers and public notices are all in that language. The roads are of a deep miry clay, through which the country waggons with their long, fat teams, plod on seemingly at their ease. The approach to Philadelphia is announced by a good turnpike road; and at German-town, the traveller feels himself within the precincts of a populous and long-established capital." †

Having brought back our readers to this point, we must next transport them from the banks of the Delaware to the shores of the Chesapeake.

BALTIMORE.

BALTIMORE, the largest city in Maryland, though not the seat of Government, has had the most rapid growth of any town of the same size in the Union. In 1787, it contained only 1955 houses, including its port; the number of stores was 152, and of churches, nine, belonging to as many sects; viz. German Cal-

* At Litiz, 8 miles from Lancaster, and 70 miles west of Philadelphia, is another Moravian settlement, begun in the year 1757. The Brethren have also settlements at Hope, in New Jersey, and at Wachovia on Yadkin river, in North Carolina.

† F. Hall, pp. 212—215.

vinists, German Lutheran, Episcopalian, Presbyterian, Roman Catholic, Baptist, Methodist, Quaker, and New Quaker or Nicolites. In 1789, the number of inhabitants was between 10,000 and 11,000; of whom not more than one in five, Dr. Morse states, attended public worship of any kind, notwithstanding the variety that courted their choice. There were many respectable families, who lived genteelly; but the bulk of the population, recently collected from almost all quarters of the globe, bent on the pursuit of wealth, and varying alike in their habits, manners, and creed, were "unsocial, unimproved, and inhospitable." In 1790, the number of inhabitants was 13,503; the amount of shipping, 13,564 tons. In 1800, the population had doubled; in ten years more, it had risen to 46,555, including 10,343 blacks; in 1820, to 62,627, and the tonnage was 68,674. It now ranks as the fourth city in commercial importance in the United States, and the third in population.* Of its appearance in 1818, Mr. Duncan gives the following description.

"Baltimore is built at the top of a small bay in the river Patapsco, near its entrance into the Chesapeake, and consists of two portions, nearly a mile asunder; the upper of which is, properly speaking, the town, and the lower, called Fell's Point, is the harbour. The water comes up to the town, but it is shallow; and in general, none but coasters go past the Point. The bay is formed and protected by a peninsular tongue of land, which stretches downwards into the river; the entrance is narrow, and is completely commanded by a fort,

* In 1789, the towns in the United States ranked, in point of size, in this order: Philadelphia, New York, Boston, Baltimore, Charleston, &c. In point of trade, New York, Philadelphia, Boston, Charleston, Baltimore. New Orleans is now second in point of trade.

which sustained a heavy bombardment during last war.

" The town is built with considerable regularity, upon portions of three hills and their intervening valleys; many of the streets cross each other at right angles, and they are in general spacious and well paved. A large proportion of the buildings are of brick; the more ancient, in consequence of inattention to painting, have rather a gloomy aspect, but the modern ones resemble in every respect those of New York and Philadelphia.

" In public buildings, Baltimore aspires to distinction, but some of the most considerable are as yet only in progress. A massy brick edifice, which is intended for an Exchange, has been roofed in: externally, it is remarkable for its dimensions, rather than its elegance. Two new churches are going forward, the one destined to be a Romish cathedral, the other a Socinian chapel. They stand very near each other, rather above the city, and as yet, a considerable space is open around them.

" The Cathedral is built of dark-coloured stone, in the form of a cross, with a dome over the centre, but the length is not nearly so great as in our ancient churches; the walls and roof are finished, and a shoal of Irish labourers were busied on the interior. It is rather singular, that they have not attempted the Gothic in this building; probably, the great expense of that style may have been the cause of the Roman Doric being preferred. The principal entrances are arched, and a few pilasters carried round the walls are its chief ornament. The size and disposition of the windows, with the crossing of the transept, have been so managed as to throw into the body of the church a strong depth of shadow, the holy gloom of which will

doubtless be esteemed highly conducive to genuine religious emotion, and which at least we must grant to be no way inappropriate in that ritual, of which the burning of candles forms so important a portion.

"The Socinian Chapel, a more lightsome and tasteful fabric, is nearly finished, and although not a large building, is said to have cost upwards of 20,000*l.* sterling. In front is an arched portico, and in the tympanum of the pediment is a *stucco* angel descending from a cloud; the walls are covered externally with composition, lined and painted to resemble stone. The interior is profusely decorated. The pulpit is of polished marble of various colours, with a baptismal font before it of the same material; upon the wall behind are two white marble slabs, resembling the tables of the Law in the ancient pictures of Moses, upon which are inscribed a few texts of Scripture. The ends of the pews are beautifully carved and bronzed in imitation of the antique. The ceiling is covered with rich stuccoed work, and in the gallery is a large organ, the front of which is very tastefully finished in the form of the ancient lyre. The effect of the whole is certainly very splendid; but the more splendid it is, the more must we regret the purpose for which so costly an edifice has been erected.

"Two public monuments have been recently begun; the one to Washington, the other to commemorate the attack on the city during last war, and to record the names of those who fell in its defence. Washington's monument occupies the front of a rising ground a little above the city; the other, the centre of a square within it. The former is a plain column rising from a square base, to be surmounted with a colossal statue. The situation is commanding, and it must form a conspicuous object in the distant prospect. The fabric is

brick within, and white marble without, with a spiral staircase in the centre. No loop-holes having been left for the admission of light, the stair is very dark.*

"The Battle Monument is also of white marble, but much smaller. It consists of a reeded column with a crossed fillet at the top and bottom, erected upon a square base, tapering in the Egyptian style, and rusticated. The shaft is not unlike the Roman fasces, without the axe; one side of the base exhibits a door, which, in a very hot day, suggests the luxurious idea of an ice-house; the other sides contain slabs on which are to be inscribed the names of all those who fell in defence of their 'altars and hearths,' as the helmets of our yeomanry express it. The operations on this erection are for the present suspended; the base has been built, and the materials for the column lie scattered round it, but the carved blocks are still in the packing-frames in which they were brought from Italy. In architectural design, this monument is so perfectly anomalous, that we cannot but regret its premature erection; in a few years, probably, the citizens will learn to regard it with the same feelings which are now excited by the Edinburgh monument to Nelson. Its situation, however, is well chosen; the material is beautiful; and so far as these go, even strangers will regard it as an ornament to the city. The event which it commemorates, will always secure it the affections of the natives.

* This monument is the first of an architectural kind ever erected to the Father of the Country. It was at this time only in progress of erection. Since then, a statue of Washington by Canova has been erected in the State-house of Raleigh; and one by Chantrey has been executed for the town of Boston. The hill commands a beautiful view of the city, the shipping in the basin, and the waters of the Chesapeake.

"Fort M'Hendry, at the end of the peninsula, saved the town from capture during last war, although it was then but ill prepared for an attack: the batteries were in a poor condition; it had no covered ways; and the magazine was not bomb-proof. A shell struck the corner of the magazine in a slanting direction, and shattered the wall: had it penetrated, the capture of the fort would have been inevitable. Since that period, the works have been greatly strengthened, and bomb-proof barracks, covered ways, and magazines have all been erected. The fortification is of a pentagonal form, and consists of an inner and outer line of batteries. The inner line is of brick, and is mounted with the lighter guns; the outer breastwork is of turf, and the guns are of a large size. Between the lines are furnaces for heating shot. The old walls still exhibit the scars of the attack, and several deep hollows in the ground shew where shells had buried themselves.

"Behind the principal fort are two small batteries at a short distance from each other. The British squadron sent out a detachment of boats during the night, hoping to effect a landing behind Fort M'Hendry, which they succeeded in passing unobserved. Not aware that there were other batteries beyond it, the sailors set up a premature shout of triumph, which immediately brought down upon them an unexpected cannonade; several of the boats were sunk, and the rest compelled to return.

"Fell's Point is, like other sea-ports, somewhat dirty; and the yellow fever, when it was prevalent, committed great ravages here, while Baltimore was comparatively healthy. In the harbour at present, is a beautiful sharp-built schooner, evidently intended for warlike purposes, and pretty well known to be

fitted out for the coast of South America; she will carry about a dozen guns. The Baltimore ship-builders particularly excel in the construction of such vessels; and it was their astonishing fleetness of sailing which enabled the privateers to pick up so many of our merchantmen during last war. They are very low in the water, and broad in the beam; the masts are sloped very much backwards, and they sail exceedingly close to the wind. Very few of them were captured by our cruisers, and those generally in consequence of some accident.

"Eastward from the town is yet to be seen the breastwork of turf which was hastily thrown up when General Ross landed to attack it. The rifle of some expert marksman was the means of saving Baltimore on this occasion. It might seem that an individual bullet could be of but little avail as to the result of a battle; it can kill but a man; but when that man is a commanding officer, and such an officer as Ross, the bullet that kills him, is decisive of the day. In the defence of a difficult pass, a wood, or an entrenched post, the American backwoodsmen are unequalled; they can with difficulty be got to stand in open ground, and have no confidence in battalion movements; but give them the stump of a tree, a fence, or a hillock of earth, over which they can level their piece, and the youngest boy among them will ply the work of destruction with a deliberate certainty of aim, which is disastrous in the last degree to the battalions of the enemy. It is not known who killed General Ross; common report attributes the effective shot to some one of a few lads who were posted behind a bush; but one of the most opulent citizens, a Scotchman by birth, who with the rest shouldered his musket on the occasion, tells me, on the authority of the general who

commanded, that no reliance can be placed on that report." *

As to the moral condition of the population, this city would seem to have undergone considerable improvement since the time referred to by Morse. Its aspect in religious matters, Mr. Duncan reports to be, upon the whole, satisfactory. Notwithstanding the magnificence of the Socinian chapel, and the sanguine expectations of its wealthy supporters, that sect, he understood, was not numerous. The Romanists formed a much larger proportion of the population, Maryland being still the head-quarters of Popery in the United States. There are two Episcopal churches: the interior of one is as splendid with Corinthian columns, gilding, and decoration, as the other is remarkable for plainness. There are also two Presbyterian churches, (one in connexion with the Associate Synod,) a small Cameronian congregation, a Baptist church, with (we presume) several Methodist, and the usual complement of *black* churches. The Sabbath is, upon the whole, "decorously observed."

At Baltimore, Captain Basil Hall was introduced, in 1828, to the venerable Charles Carroll, the only survivor of the revolutionary statesmen who signed the Declaration of Independence fifty-three years before.† Although in his ninety-first year, this "excellent veteran" retained all his faculties; his speech, sight, and hearing were still perfect, and his step so vigorous, that not a symptom of decay could be traced

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 219—229. See p. 185 of our first volume.

† In 1818, of the fifty-six individuals whose signatures are affixed to the Declaration of Independence, there were five who survived, viz., Thomas Jefferson, of Virginia; John Adams, of Massachusetts; Charles Carroll, of Maryland; William Floyd, of New York; and William Ellery, of Rhode Island.

about him. Within his memory, Baltimore, which now contains 70,000 inhabitants, was a village of only seven houses. "Of late years, however," remarks Captain Basil Hall, "it has come nearly to a stand-still,* in consequence of events over which, I much fear, the inhabitants have no control. During the long period of the late European war, this city flourished, like some others in America, under the neutral flag. It was a place of much greater consequence, too, before the New York canal drained off from the interior of the country, much of that export trade which the capital and the industry of the citizens of Baltimore had long turned to such profitable account. The peace, which brought the full weight of continental as well as English resources into the open field of competition, gradually lessened the importance of Baltimore, Boston, and Philadelphia, and of many other places in America, which cannot boast, like New York, of enjoying peculiar local advantages, that promise to flourish and improve under all political changes. The proximate causes of the declension of Baltimore, therefore, are not only the alteration of the times consequent upon the general peace, but the much higher commercial facilities existing at the two great ports of New York and New Orleans.

"There are projects afloat, however, for restoring this lost balance to Philadelphia and Baltimore, and of regaining some portion of the profits derived from supplying the western country with goods, and of drawing off its produce. This, it is hoped, may be accomplished by means of a rail-road from Baltimore

* During the European continental war, when America engrossed nearly the whole carrying trade, a flourishing commerce crowded this harbour with vessels; but Mr. Madison's proclamation of war was the signal of its ruin, and it has never recovered from the blow.

on the Chesapeake, and a canal from Philadelphia on the Delaware, both striking the Ohio, over the Alleghany mountains.

"If the mouth of the Mississippi could be dammed up, or the harbour of New York be demolished, there might be some chance for the resuscitation of the intermediate sea-ports; but, in the meantime, I suspect, both Philadelphia and Baltimore must be contended to enjoy their local, but comparatively limited advantages, without attempting to rival those great emporiums. The natural obstacles which stand in the way of any direct communication between the western country and the coast are so numerous and formidable, that I fully believe, if the proposed canal from Philadelphia to Pittsburgh, which stands at the point where the confluence of the Monongahela and the Alleghany forms the commencement of the Ohio river, or the rail-road from Baltimore to Wheeling, on the left bank of the same magnificent stream, could be laid down free of expense, the transit of goods upon them would not do much more than defray the cost of keeping them in repair." *

Of the "very agreeable and intelligent society" to which he was introduced at Baltimore, this Traveller speaks in terms of unwonted praise. Generally speaking, he found them "more reasonable upon all matters relating to their country," than the inhabitants of most of the cities he had visited; better acquainted with the manners of the rest of the world, and less disposed to cram down a stranger's throat their institutions, their town, their bay, their liberty, and their intelligence. Little was to be seen here in the way of sights; but the Jail, the Penitentiary, and

* Basil Hall, vol. ii. pp. 394—396.

the Institution for the Insane, "appeared to be strongly marked with the effects of that active desire to contribute to the wants of the wretched, which we meet with in all parts of America, but in no place more conspicuously than in Baltimore." Of these institutions, Mr. Duncan speaks in terms of similar commendation; and he bears his testimony in like manner to the open-hearted warmth of reception which he met with from the kind and hospitable inhabitants.*

"The State of Maryland has always been distinguished by a sedulous attention to the advancement of learning; and for several years, considerable sums have been annually voted by the Legislature for the support of schools and colleges. In all these appropriations, it is an express stipulation, that no distinction shall be made in favour of any religious sect, but that both the management and the benefit of the institution shall be free to persons of every denomination. In 1807, a Medical College was founded here; and in 1812, its charter was extended so as to embrace the other departments of science and literature; it then received the appellation of the University of Maryland. As yet, the medical department is the only one that has been brought into operation. There is also an elder college, called St. Mary's, which, though a Romish establishment, is said to have educated some of the first literary men in the United States: it was not empowered to confer literary degrees till 1805." †

* Every Traveller speaks in similar terms of the peculiar courtesy, hospitality, and extraordinary spirit of enterprise by which the inhabitants of Baltimore are marked; but no one informs us whence its population was so rapidly drawn. When Weld travelled, the Irish settlers were numerous, including many of the principal merchants in the town; and there were a great many French from the West India Islands.

† Duncan, vol. i. p. 234.

Roman Catholics are said to be still the most numerous denomination in this State; and next to them, the Episcopalians and the Methodists:* the former had, in 1811, thirty churches.

The climate of the northern part of Maryland, is similar to the southern part of Pennsylvania; but, to the south of Baltimore, there is a considerable change, and the climate is both more humid and considerably warmer. Annapolis, the seat of government, is situated on the southern bank of the Severn, two miles from its mouth, and thirty miles S. of Baltimore: it now contains a population of only about 2000 souls.† Frederickstown, on a branch of the Monocosy Creek, 42 miles W. of Baltimore, has about 5000, and carries on a considerable trade in wheat and flour. Besides these, there are no towns of any importance. "Two articles are said to be peculiar to Maryland; the genuine *white* wheat which grows on the eastern shore of the Chesapeake, and the bright *kite's foot* tobacco, which is produced on some parts of the western shore south of Baltimore." ‡

Maryland is divided from Virginia, on the west and south, by the Potomac, on the banks of which, 103 miles from its mouth, is the Federal District of

* In Carey and Lea's Atlas, it is stated, that the Methodists are probably more numerous than any other denomination.

† "During the colonial regime," Lieutenant Hall says, "Annapolis was the centre of fashion to all America. The governors of Maryland were commonly men of rank and family, who brought with them a taste for social elegance, which seems to have become the appanage of the old families, who, since Annapolis has fallen into decay, have become residents of Baltimore."—Hall, p. 249. Morse (1789) styles it the wealthiest town of its size in America. "The houses, about 260 in number, are generally large and elegant, indicative of great wealth. The Stadt-house is the noblest building of the kind in America."—Morse, p. 358.

‡ Carey and Lea, p. 183.

Columbia, which was ceded by the two States, in 1790, to the General Congress, as the seat of the Central Government. The whole area is 100 square miles: the largest portion is on the Maryland side, where, near the junction of the eastern branch of the river, stands the present Metropolis of the United States.

WASHINGTON.

Of this singular city, (called by the Americans themselves, "the city in the woods," though there is [illegible] or no wood near it,) Mr. Duncan gives the following description in 1818.

"The position which was selected for the Federal City, is a point of land embraced by the forking of the river Potowmak, about 120 miles from its junction with the Chesapeake, and about 250 miles from the sea. The principal branch of the river flows down upon the west, and unites with the smaller one from the eastward in front of the city. Ships of war, of the largest size, can float in safety three or four miles above the junction of the streams. It was expected that this situation would have been found particularly favourable to commercial enterprise, and consequently that the population would rapidly increase; hitherto, however, these hopes have not been realized. Georgetown, about a mile above upon the principal branch of the river, monopolizes the inland trade; and Alexandria, seven miles below, intercepts the foreign; while the barrenness of the surrounding country is discouraging to settlers. The prosperity of Washington, therefore, seems to be in a great measure dependant on its advantages as the seat of government; and these, in a new government, economical even to penuriousness in the salaries of its public officers, cannot as yet be very important.

Prince Edward Island

"Great, however, or trifling as they may be, the city did not till very lately enter upon the full enjoyment of them. Great doubts were entertained whether it was to continue to enjoy the presence of the chief magistrate and supreme legislature; and capitalists felt no inclination to invest their money in property which was not otherwise valuable, and which might therefore be suddenly and irretrievably depreciated. But what the natives were at a loss to decide, the British may be said to have decided for them. The burning of the Capitol and the President's House during last war, has settled the question; and it seems to be now ascertained, to the satisfaction of speculators, that Washington is to continue, at least for a considerable time to come, in the undisturbed enjoyment of her metropolitan privileges. How an event so disastrous should lead to consequences so propitious, may seem to be in some measure a paradox, but it is one of easy explanation. When the rebuilding of these edifices came to be the subject of deliberation in Congress, the question as to the removal of the seat of the Legislature was necessarily discussed; national feeling, however, co-operated powerfully with other considerations to influence the decision; the proposal was at once scouted, and the requisite amount was enthusiastically voted to efface the memorials of British triumph. Preparations were instantly made to rebuild the Capitol and President's House with more than their original splendour; the value of building-ground and of houses took an immediate start; and Washington now exhibits abundant proof of the enterprise and elasticity of the national character.

"The original plan of the city was on a most extensive scale. A parallelogram more than four miles and a half long, and two miles broad, was regularly

divided into streets, avenues, and squares; and should the anticipations of its founders be realized, this will, after all, be but the nucleus of the future metropolis. The streets are laid out towards the cardinal points, crossing each other at right angles; the avenues intersect these diagonally, so as to avoid the tiresome sameness which is observable in Philadelphia, and extensive squares are to be placed at the crossings of these transverse lines. The avenues are from 130 to 160 feet wide; the streets from 80 to 110.

"To lay out the plan of a city, however, is one thing, and to build it, is another. Of all the regularity and system which the engraved plan exhibits, scarcely a trace is discernible upon the ground. Instead of beginning this gigantic undertaking in a central spot, and gradually extending the buildings from a common focus, they appear to have commenced at once in twenty or thirty different places, without the slightest regard to concentration or the comforts of good neighbourhood; and a stranger looking round him for Washington, sees two houses here, and six there, and a dozen yonder, scattered in straggling groupes over the greater part of three or four square miles. Hitherto, the city does not contain above 14,000 inhabitants, but these have taken root in so many different places, that the public crier, a black man whom I have just seen performing the duties of his calling, is obliged to make the circuit on horseback. Pennsylvania Avenue is almost the only place where the line of communication can be traced. This stretches from the Capitol to the President's House, a distance of rather more than a mile, with double rows of gravel walks and poplars, and a good many buildings have been erected on both sides of it, with considerable attention to neatness and continuity. This, however,

is but a small portion of the intended avenue, which, according to the plan, is to stretch out in both directions, till it is eventually about four miles in length.

"A short way from the Capitol, Pennsylvania Avenue is crossed by the Tiber, a little muddy stream, or creek, according to American phraseology, which filters through flags, and rushes into the Potowmak. A wooden bridge is thrown over it, but the stage-driver who brought me from Baltimore, preferred fording the stream, to cool the feet of his horses. Moore, in one of his poetical epistles, dated from the 'Modern Rome,' makes a sarcastic allusion to this classic stream; but, if Weld is correct, the name was given it by some early settler, before the site was chosen for the Federal City, and, therefore, its founders are not answerable for what at first seems a piece of ridiculous affectation.

"As the Capitol and the President's House are both of free-stone, we are rather disappointed to find them covered with white paint. The grain of the stone is, indeed, rather coarse, and a good many hard white pebbles are imbedded in it; yet, the walls would certainly have looked better in their natural colour. The truth is, the buildings were both originally unpainted; but the unceremonious usage which they received from our troops at the capture of the city, so effectually begrimed their visages, that it was found impossible to eradicate the defilement. To demolish and rebuild the walls, would have been a very costly expedient, and as the least of two evils, the painter's brush was resorted to; here and there, however, above some of the windows, the black wreathings of the smoke are still discernible through the white covering.

"Not more than the wings of the Capitol had been completed when the city was captured. They have

risen from their ashes, and are again roofed in; the centre also is beginning to appear above the ground. Each wing is pretty nearly square, and consists of a basement and principal story, surmounted with a low, circular dome, bearing a small lantern. The basement is rusticated, and, alternating with the windows of the principal story, is a row of Corinthian pilasters. The centre is to resemble the wings in its general features, but will project considerably beyond them. The building wants simplicity.

"The House of Representatives will occupy a magnificent hall in the right wing of the building. The Speaker's chair is to be placed near the wall, and the seats and desks of the members will be disposed in semi-circular lines round it, rising as they recede. Beyond the members' seats will be an extensive gallery for spectators. Twenty-two splendid Corinthian columns with corresponding pilasters, are to surround the outline of the semi-circle, and the wall behind the Speaker's chair. Part of these are already erected. The shaft of the columns is of a kind of pudding-stone from the banks of the Potowmak, composed of numerous pebbles of various sizes and colours, and admitting of a good polish. The capitals, which were executed in Italy, are of white marble, and, it is said, cost upwards of a hundred pounds sterling each. The appropriate foliage of this splendid order is most exquisitely elaborated. I am disposed to think, however, that had the columns been altogether of white marble, the effect would have been much more pleasing.*

"The President's House† is a handsome building

* A large proportion of the workmen were from Scotland and Ireland. Their wages were from one to two dollars a day, of which they were able to save about one half.

† Familiarly called by the Americans, "the White House."

of considerable dimensions, occupying the brow of a rising ground near the bank of the river, and commanding a most extensive and beautiful prospect. In the centre of the side towards the river, is a semi-circular projection; and Corinthian pilasters, rising between the windows to the full height of the building, support a balustrade which goes completely round. The principal front, however, is on the other side, where a plain but lofty portico of four columns rises above the entrance door. Among heaps of rubbish round the building, I saw several fragments of the old capitals of the pilasters, which had been cracked by the conflagration, and thoroughly blackened with smoke.

"The walls of the President's House are now restored to their former condition, and carpenters and upholsterers were busied in giving to the interior more than its original splendour. The walls of some of the rooms which have been finished, are covered with very rich French paper, studded with gilt flowers. I saw in one of them, a full length copy in oil of Stuart's portrait of Washington: the original is, or at least was, in the possession of the Marquis of Lansdown, and is the same from which the beautiful engraving by Heath was executed.

"Along with the Capitol and the President's House, the public offices were also destroyed. There were at that time only two, which have been rebuilt, and other two have been added; they are appropriated to the departments of the treasury, state, navy, and war, and stand near the President's House, two on each side.

"Not less than five libraries perished in that ill-fated conflagration, two of which were of considerable value. Many public documents and some curious papers connected with the history of the revolution, were also destroyed. As a recommencement of a

national library, Congress has purchased from Mr. Jefferson the whole of his private collection, containing about ten thousand volumes.

"The navy-yard, about a mile south-east of the Capitol, occupies nearly forty acres of ground, on the margin of a small inlet of the eastern branch of the river. Before visiting it, I had neglected to provide myself with an introduction to the commanding officer, and reached the gate before I recollected that this would be necessary. As the only remaining chance, I walked boldly past the sentinel, hoping to get in unchallenged; ere I had gone many paces, however, the serjeant of the guard hailed me, and having ascertained that I was an interloper, ordered me to turn. I made no remonstrance, but observing at a short distance from the gate a marble monument, I asked and obtained permission to inspect it. I found it to be a monument to the memory of some American naval officers, who fell several years ago in an attack on Tripoli. It consists of a column upon a square base, surmounted with an eagle, and surrounded by allegorical figures as large as life. The shaft of the column bears the beak and stern of three vessels of the antique form, projecting from it at equal distances from each other. The figures are allegorical of History, Fame, Commerce, and America. History is in the act of recording on her tablet the heroic achievements of the departed warriors; Fame has mounted upon the base to crown them with laurel; Mercury, carrying the cornucopiæ, as the representative of Commerce, bewails their untimely fate; and Columbia, a beautiful female decorated with feathers, is pointing two little chubby boys, one of whom carries the Roman fasces, to the commemorative device. On the front of the base is a sculptured basso relievo

representation of the bombardment. The other three sides are occupied with inscriptions; one contains the names of those who fell; another intimates that the monument was erected by their brother officers; and on the third is inscribed:—

'FAME HAS CROWNED THEIR DEEDS,
HISTORY RECORDS THE EVENT,
THE CHILDREN OF COLUMBIA ADMIRE,
AND COMMERCE LAMENTS THEIR FALL.'

This last inscription is, to say the least of it, superfluous, for the art of the sculptor is worth nothing, if it requires such an expositor under it. The monument was executed in Italy, and is very beautiful, but the spectator regrets to observe that the fingers of some of the figures have been broken off. We are not left in doubt as to the perpetrators of this outrage, for a small square tablet bears the mortifying information:—

'MUTILATED
BY BRITONS,
25TH AUGUST, 1814.'

This inscription might also have been spared. It is not at all improbable, that some of our soldiers, in the wantonness of victory, may have been the guilty individuals; for the monuments in Westminster Abbey abundantly manifest the propensity which prevails in the inferior classes of our countrymen to similar acts of vandalism; many of the smaller figures there, have been deprived not only of their fingers, but of their heads; and the real cause of wonder with respect to this one is, not that so much, but that so little mischief was done. The person who ordered the inscription, however, should have reflected that it immediately suggests the question, How came 'Britons' to be here? and it is possible, if the answer to this ques-

tion is followed up by others which naturally occur, that the disgrace of allowing the fingers to be taken off, might eventually appear to be at least as great as that of having done it. A few years hence, nothing could have been seen in Washington to remind a visiter of its having been once in an enemy's hands; but, so long as this monument remains in its present state, the humiliating fact is conspicuously recorded."*

In consequence of the gigantic scale on which Washington has been planned, and the different interests which influence the population, its inhabitants are, in fact, separated into four distinct towns, distant from each other about a mile. Thus we have George-town in the west, containing 9000 souls; the town immediately round the President's House, with perhaps 10,000; that round the Capitol, containing between 2000 and 3000; and the buildings at the navy-yard, which lies on the east branch, still a mile further. The three divisions of the city itself, with here and there a few scattered buildings, may now contain, Mr. Cooper says, about 16,000 souls. George-town, though in the district of Columbia, and quite as near to the President's House as is the Capitol, is not properly a part of the city, having a distinct municipal government. Alexandria, a little city of about 9000 inhabitants, is also within the limits of the Federal District, but lies on the opposite side of the Potomac, at a distance of six miles. The whole district may contain about 40,000 souls.†

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 251—267. Even Mr. Cooper acknowledges, that the inscription referred to is in singularly bad taste; and that the very nature of the injury inflicted on the monument, proves it to have been the act of an individual.

† Cooper's Notions, vol. ii. pp. 12, 16—26. The population of

"The quarter of the President's House is less compact and more populous than either of the others, and forms properly the heart of the city. A few of the streets have the air of a town; though there is, in every part of this place, a striking disproportion in magnitude between the streets and the houses. In order to produce the effect intended, the buildings in the Pennsylvania Avenue, for example, should be of six or seven stories; whereas they are, in fact, some such houses as one sees in an English country-town. Another striking defect in the plan, is also made manifest by the waste of room in this avenue. As the avenues cross the street obliquely, it is plain, the points of intersection must make a vast number of acute angles. There is always, on one side of each street, between that street and the avenue, a gore of land, so narrow that it will never be built on, until real estate shall get to be far more valuable than it is likely soon to become here. Consequently, the distances are unnecessarily increased; and by this means, and its four different quarters, Washington has all the inconvenience of an immense town, with scarcely any of its counterbalancing advantages. Georgetown is a well-built, clean, and rather pretty town. The avenues between this place and the Navy-yard, a distance of nearly five miles, resemble a high road through an open country but little cultivated, on which stand one straggling town and a village, and which terminates in a cluster of houses. The buildings of the towns and villages on the route, are much like those of other small towns, with the exception of the public edifices, which are like those one sees in a city. If you can reconcile all these contradictions,

the city in 1820, was only 13,247; and that of the district, 33,029, including 6377 slaves and 4048 free persons of colour.

you may get a tolerably accurate notion of the capital of the United States." *

This description is evidently not drawn by a Virginian, and it reads very much like satire. Captain Basil Hall cites the quaint simile of a friend at Washington, who remarked, that "the whole affair looks as if some giant had scattered a box of his child's toys at random on the ground." This effect arises from the unusual width of the streets, "where streets there are." Here and there, ranges of buildings are starting up, but by far the greater number of the houses are detached. In fact, Washington is the site of a city, rather than a city; and it may, perhaps, be still considered as doubtful, whether it will ever assume the appearance of one. It would seem that many of the Americans are by no means satisfied with either the situation or the plan and character of their ideal capital, the greater part of which is as yet built in the air; although there are others, Captain Basil Hall tells us, who believe that the time will come, when their capital shall cover the whole area of the district of Columbia, 100 miles square! By others again, Mr. Hodgson says, "St. Louis on the Missouri is supposed to be destined to become the future capital, as it will probably be almost the centre of those States which may be expected one day to compose this gigantic confederation."

Thus it is, that in America all is outline: the filling up of the picture, Mr. Cooper tells us, has but just seriously commenced. "The tide of emigration, which has so long been flowing westward, must," he says, "have its reflux." It remains to be seen, whether an intellectual reflux must not also take place, towards

* Cooper's Notions, vol. ii. pp. 25, 26.

the East, the source of civilisation, upon which, as if disdainful of their origin, the Americans have been turning their backs, still in pursuit of an *Hesperides* in the West, their only region of romance being the golden age that is ever in perspective. This strong recoil has naturally followed upon their emancipation from the colonial bondage; and the democratic jealousy which, scarcely brooking the control of its own institutions, has reduced the power of the Executive to little better than the shadow of authority, is the not less natural result of the sudden development of the national energies. All modern colonies, the philosophical Humboldt remarks, have manifested a tendency, more or less decided, for republican forms of government; a tendency "founded principally on the position in which a community is placed, that is suddenly detached from a world more anciently civilized, freed from every external tie, and composed of individuals who recognize no political preponderance in the same caste." * The American, so far as he has a national character, may be described as an Englishman stripped of his history. Unallied to the past, and fiercely intent upon the future, proud of his nation's anticipated greatness, and glorying more in his strength than in his achievements, he is a republican from the very nature of things. He has no master, nor is he allied in the social system, or related in his own feelings, to any thing greater and higher than himself. The noble illegitimacy of his political birth has thrown him upon his own resources, and made him almost forswear his ancestry. In America, nothing has its foundations in the past, and therefore, nothing is stable. All is in transition. Each State is perpetually shifting

* Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. vi. p. 313.

its centre. The capitals are travelling westward. The relative position and weight of the different members of the Federal Union are, in like manner, undergoing perpetual modification. The channels of trade are shifting, like the course of a mighty river, where nothing breaks the surrounding level. The political institutions may be compared to the bridges of the country, in which the position of the arch is reversed, and the whole structure is in suspension. Under such circumstances, who can venture to say, how long Washington may enjoy the honours in which it has supplanted Philadelphia, by remaining the nominal centre of the Republic,—the seat of Government, but not of a court; the mere focus of official business, not a metropolis; and uniting the three striking anomalies of a city without houses, a navy-yard without seamen, and a port without commerce?

"In many respects," says Mr. Hodgson, "Washington reminded me very much of a watering-place. Scarcely any of the members reside here, except while Congress is sitting; and then they are in lodgings. The ladies who accompany their fathers or husbands, to see a little of the world, are situated very much as they would be at Harrowgate or Cheltenham; and there are usually many strangers in pursuit of entertainment. It is the residence also of the foreign ministers, and the heads of the departments of Government. All this gives rise to much dissipation. On some of the evenings, there are routs at the houses of one or other of the ministers of the *Corps diplomatique*, and the rest are generally anticipated by two or three invitations. All, however, complain that this routine becomes very dull before the session closes, as they meet almost the same persons every evening, and the sober ones will seldom go out above two or

three times a week. Families who are acquainted with each other, often board together at the large taverns; and the members who are bachelors for the time being, form messes at the private boarding-houses, where they are often in very close, and sometimes in very shabby quarters. I think, quite the majority of the members go to the Capitol in hackney coaches; and as the ground has been covered with snow, I have several times seen a sledge and four, with eight or ten senators from George-town in the neighbourhood.

"I have spent nearly every morning at the Senate or House of Representatives. These beautiful chambers are calculated to make an impression very favourable to the dignity of the deliberative assemblies which occupy them; and the general appearance of the members does not materially impair it. Many of them have the appearance of English country gentlemen; and a considerable proportion of them are lawyers, who carry in their faces those marks of intellectual exertion which seem to plead some apology for having sacrificed little to the Graces. Some of the members from the Western country, indeed, would look a little queer in our House of Commons. The proceedings both of the Senate and the House of Representatives, seem to be conducted with great order and decorum, and with a courtesy and attention to the feelings of 'honourable gentlemen,' which I was not prepared to expect. The style of their best speakers is fluent, forcible, and perspicuous; and in cases where it is not possible that their arguments should be sound, they seldom fail to be specious and acute. My friend, who would, I believe, be considered the first authority on the subject, told me, that he considered their two prominent faults to be, a proneness to engage in dissertation, and to pursue the investigation of a

difficult question, which had been started incidentally in the course of the debate, without ascertaining whether its solution was absolutely necessary to the original discussion. He regards the frequent change of members in the House of Representatives as inimical to the acquisition of that knowledge, or the formation of those habits, so desirable in a deliberative assembly; and deprecates the custom into which they have fallen, of referring every thing to committees, as tending in effect to leave to the decision of a few, many questions which ought to be argued upon general principles, by the House at large. It is usual for ladies to attend when any interesting debate is expected; and the question of the admission of Slavery into the Missouri, which has lately been agitated, attracts all the beauty and fashion to the Senate. On this occasion, through what has been considered the over complaisance of the Vice-President of the United States, who is the chairman of the Senate, ladies have been admitted on the floor; but this is not to be allowed in future."*

Captain Basil Hall passed upwards of a month in Washington, at the beginning of the year 1828. He found the society there very agreeable, and in many respects interesting, from being composed of persons from every part of the Union, and every part of Europe, for the *corps diplomatique* form a considerable party of themselves. Of the Capitol, which he visited every day, he gives the following description:—

"The House of Representatives at Washington, is a splendid hall of a semi-circular form, 96 feet across, and 40 in height. Along its circumference are placed fourteen marble columns, reaching to the vaulted dome, and fancifully tied together under

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 8—12.

the cornice by festoons of red damask. The gallery for the public, which is raised about twenty feet above the floor of the House, extends along the whole circuit behind these columns. In the centre below sits the Speaker, from whose chair seven passages radiate to the circumference, whilst the members sit in concentric rows facing the Speaker; the whole arrangement being not unlike in form to that of half of a spider's web. Every member has a snug, stuffed, comfortable arm-chair allotted to him; besides a writing-desk furnished with all the apparatus of paper, pens, and ink, and a drawer underneath, of which he keeps the key.

"This noble room, or more properly amphitheatre, is not well adapted for hearing. Were it actually a theatre, and the audience seated where the members are placed, while the actors addressed them from the corridor or open space behind the Speaker's chair, along the diameter of the semi-circle, I dare say it might do very well; because the Speaker, when addressing the House from the chair, was heard distinctly enough by the members. It was always difficult, however, for any member of the House to make himself heard. I spoke to one of them about this essential defect. He replied, that for once, in America, utility had been sacrificed to beauty; 'which,' said he, good-humouredly enough, 'you must do us the justice to say, is not often the fault of this country.'

"The most perfect decorum prevails at all times in the House; no coughing, no cheering, no hear! hear!—none of those indefinable, but significant sounds which are so irresistibly efficacious in modifying the debates of the House of Commons. Every member of Congress is permitted to speak at any length he pleases, without interruption. I cannot say, however, that there is a correspondent degree of at-

tention paid to what is said; for, independently of the reverberations of sound from the dome, or the waste of it in filling the intercolumniations, there are other sources of disturbance constantly going on, which drown a great part of what is said. Except when some remarkably good speaker has 'possession of the floor,' the members, instead of attending to what is spoken, are busied in conversation, in writing letters, rapping the sand off the wet ink with their knuckles, rustling the countless multitude of newspapers which deluge the House, locking or unlocking their drawers, or moving up and down the avenues which divide the ranges of seats, and kicking before them, at every step, printed reports, letter covers, and other documents strewed on the floor. A couple of active little boys are always seen running to and fro with armfuls of papers, or carrying slips of writing from members to the chair, or from member to member. Whenever any one rises to speak, who, there is reason to infer, from experience, or from internal evidence, will be lengthy, one of these little Mercuries flies off for a glass of water, which he places on the orator's desk.

"A wide passage skirts the base of the columns, between each of which there stands a commodious sofa, on which the members, or such strangers as have the *entrée* granted them by the Speaker, may lounge at their ease. Ladies are not allowed to come on the floor of the house, but only into the gallery. When, however, I chanced to go alone, I always found an excellent place behind the Speaker's chair, along with the Foreign Ambassadors and other strangers. The reporters for the newspapers had a place assigned to them in this quarter of the House.

"The Senate Chamber is similar in form to that of Hall of Representatives, but of course it is much

THE CAPITOL, WASHINGTON.

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smaller; the diameter of the semi-circle being only 75 feet.

"The Capitol itself is a large and handsome building, though some people think the effect is hurt by three flat domes on the top, hardly in character with the rest of the architecture. I thought the effect of the whole very good. Under the centre dome is a lofty hall, called the Rotundo, the niches of which are ornamented with colossal pictures by Trumbull. Adjacent to this, and connected by a flight of steps, is the library of Congress, a pleasant and well-arranged apartment.

"The stone of which the Capitol is built, is well adapted for such a building, being a coarse-grained freestone, with a slight, but by no means unpleasant tinge of yellow. By some strange perversity of taste, this fine building has been covered over with a coating of paint.* The situation being an elevated one, the effect of the weather, during the hard gales which blow in winter, added to the scorching heats of the summer, has been to wear away this crust at so many places, that the poor wall is exposed in no very seemly condition.

"In attending Congress, nothing struck me so much as the exceeding looseness of their mode of debating, and especially the long-winded, rambling style of the speeches, which, seldom adhering long to the subject under discussion, roved away into topics having no sort of connexion with it. General principles, moral maxims, assertions of honest intentions, declarations of national and individual independence, overwrought raptures at the increasing greatness of the country, contrasted with the decay of Europe, made up a considerable part of all these discourses. Or when the orations had a deeper object, and were di-

* See page 77.

rected, not to the subject in hand, but to the Presidential or some other party question, it was quite impossible for any stranger to follow their windings without some interpretation.

"It naturally occurred to me to ask, whether or not this style of speaking were generally approved of; but I never met with a single person, old or young, Federalist or Democrat, Adams'-man or Jacksonian, who did not condemn the practice in the most unqualified terms, as being the greatest bore on earth; independently of its wasting time, and confounding all good business in a deluge of vapid eloquence, intended not for the House, nor for the country, but chiefly to be printed in pamphlets, for the edification of the constituents of the honourable members, who were never satisfied unless they had such direct proof of their representative having exerted himself. *

* "The Congressional eloquence of America," say the North American Reviewers, "is, we think, in no high respect among ourselves. The debates in Congress appear to us to be spoken disrespectfully of by many of the judicious portion of the community; of that portion who really say less than they feel or think, and whose censures deserve to be listened to.····With us, the least concern of a member of Congress, is, how he stands at Washington. His heart is in Carolina, in Maine, or beyond the Alleghanies. With these distant regions he communicates through the press. The speaking is the smallest part of the business: it is only the occasion, the justification, of publishing a speech in the newspapers, and perhaps in a pamphlet to be sent home to his constituents.....It is now, we believe, generally admitted, that the House of Representatives, at least, convenes in a splendid hall, in which it is difficult to see, speak, or hear, and which is consequently destitute of the three most important properties of a hall of legislature. Scarcely a session passes without the waste of some time or money and ineffectual attempts at a remedy.... The vast space to be filled, tempts to vociferation, to exaggerated gesture, to weary repetition, and a sort of desperate effort on the part of members, to produce by length that effect which they cannot aim at in a shorter discourse, of which every sentence would tell."—N. Amer. Rev. No. lvii. pp. 431—8.

"I found there were absolutely no persons holding the station of what are called, in England, Leaders, on either side of the House. Persons of ability and address do, of course, acquire a certain degree of unsteady influence, even in assemblies so constituted: but this never appears to entitle them to the character of leading men. The bare insinuation of such pretensions, indeed, would inevitably lead to the downfall of the man so designated. It is true, that certain members do take charge of the administration questions, and certain others of opposition questions; but all this is so obviously without concert among themselves, actual or tacit, that nothing can be conceived less systematic, or more completely desultory, disjointed, and unbusiness-like.

"It will now be easily understood, how it happens that so little real work is done by Congress, at least through the medium of debate; or how little solid information can be communicated to the public, by means of the reported discussions. Nine-tenths, or perhaps a greater proportion of all the time of every session of Congress, as far as I could see, read about, or hear of in conversation, is always wasted in these interminable speeches: so that the real business which comes to be crushed into the very end of the session, is, of course, so great, that very often many important bills cannot be got through the regular forms in due season, and consequently must be deferred till next year. If it should happen to be the second year, or last session of Congress, all such measures as have not fortunately succeeded in passing through the requisite forms, lapse as a matter of course, and must be again brought forward, from the beginning, in the new Congress; though many of these

unhappy bills may, and often do, again share the same fate in the next, and so on through many successive Congresses."*

At the time that Captain Basil Hall was at Washington, the approaching Presidential election was the all-engrossing consideration which gave a turn to every debate, and precluded the possibility of getting through any public business. "The question of slaves being property or not, the tariff of duties for the protection of manufactures, the doctrine of State rights, that of internal improvements, and a great many others, all passed in review, and were more or less dwelt upon; every one of these subjects, however, landed in the Presidential question, in a manner which it is impossible to describe, for I know of nothing to compare it with elsewhere. In the meanwhile, very little real business was effected, I mean in open Congress, and before the public. The executive committees of the Legislature, (as they may be called with perfect truth, in spite of the portentous anomaly in government which the term implies,) did what was absolutely necessary for the progress of those parts of the public business which could not possibly be allowed to stand still. But, after all, the very minimum of real work, as far as I could see or hear, was the result.

"The following extract from an American paper, dated Washington, 2d April, 1828, more than two months after the time I am speaking of, will shew that the same system was continued:—

"'Neither house of Congress met on Saturday. Four months have elapsed since the session commenced, and we are not able to state a single measure of any real national importance that has thus far

* B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 4–8; 27, 8; 32, 3.

been accomplished. In the early part of the session, some of the members talked frequently of shutting out of their proceedings and discussions all topics that might have an electioneering aspect, and of going on as rapidly as possible with the public business, in order that the session might be a short one. This course would certainly have been both wise and profitable, and we can only regret it was not pursued. At present, we see very little prospect, even at this late hour, of a speedy adjournment. Almost every subject is seized hold of for the purposes of party effect; and whatever may be the title of a bill, or the professed object of a resolution, it is almost invariably turned to a controversy relating to the Presidential election. Reports of committees are framed with this view; and, in short, there appears to be little else attended to, than the question, Who shall be the next chief magistrate of the nation? We do not see that there is any remedy for this evil. It would seem, from what has passed before us for two or three years past, that we must expect hereafter to find the political concerns of the country all made subservient to intrigue and electioneering.'" *

Captain Basil Hall attended a select levee held by the President on New Year's day. "We found the scene," he says, "very interesting, as we not only saw and conversed with the President, but made acquaintance with several military and naval officers of distinction, and with many other persons we were

* B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 65—67. The present Congress, however, is said to differ in one material respect from the preceding. According to the New York papers, it will shew a majority in favour of the Administration, so large, that, on questions of mere party politics, opposition will be hopeless. A strong government party will be a novel feature in the session, and may prove favourable to the despatch of public business.

anxious to meet. The suite of apartments thrown open consisted of two handsomely furnished drawing-rooms, leading to a well-proportioned ball-room, which, however, I was surprised to find entirely unfurnished and bare. Even the walls were left in their unpainted plaster. Here was a degree of republican simplicity beyond what I should have expected, as it seemed out of character with what I saw elsewhere. Upon inquiring into this matter, I learned, that although one Congress had voted a sum of money,—twenty-five thousand dollars, or about five thousand guineas,—for the purpose of fitting up the President's house, the succeeding Congress, which, as usual, contained a large proportion of new members, fresh from the woods, asked what was the use of expending so much of the public money, when people could dance as well, or even better, in the empty room, than in one crowded with furniture. At all events, whatever be the cause, the fact bears testimony to a degree of economy, of which very few Americans that I conversed with did not complain, as being rather too parsimonious, and, all things considered, not a very dignified or discreet exposure, at the chief point of attraction for all foreigners."*

So long as the shallow, illiberal philosophy of Benjamin Franklin and Thomas Paine,† which has interwoven itself into all the institutions of the United

* B. Hall, vol. iii. p. 14.

† Paine, in his Rights of Man, undertakes to demonstrate, that no free people, if they be wise, will ever give more than 3250 dollars a year to their chief magistrate, whether called president or king. Almost the whole system of American politics, it has been remarked, especially what relates to its two distinguishing features, parsimony and popular jealousy, may be traced up to some of Franklin's specious, pithy, but shallow apophthegms, so well adapted to tickle the ear of the populace.

States, maintains its credit, it must not only cripple the Government, and divest it of its proper consideration in the eyes of the people, but its tendency is to prevent the development of high talent, and to vulgarize the national character. The munificence and public spirit displayed in the literary and benevolent institutions of many of the States, are in striking contrast to the illiberal parsimony manifested by the General Legislature towards the public servants of the country.

General Washington, when President, used to hold a levee once a week during the session. At these, Weld informs us, he always appeared in a court dress; and it was expected that the foreign ministers should attend in the same style. "This they constantly do," it is added, "excepting the French minister, who makes a point of going in dishabille, not to say worse of it. Other persons are at liberty to go as they think proper. Mrs. Washington has also a drawing-room once a week. On this occasion, the ladies are seated in great form round the apartment, and tea, coffee, &c. are served." * Many objections, however, were made by the democratic party against these levees, "as being inconsistent with the spirit of a republican government, and destructive of that equality which ought to reign among the citizens of every class!" The President gave no public dinners or other entertainments, except to personages sustaining diplomatic capacities, and to a few families on terms of intimacy with Mrs. Washington. "This, by many persons," says Weld, "is attributed to his saving disposition, but it is more just to ascribe it to his prudence and foresight; for, as the salary of the President is totally inadequate by itself to support an

* Weld, p. 15.

expensive style of life, were he to give numerous and splendid entertainments, the same might be expected from subsequent Presidents, who, if their private fortunes were not considerable, would be unable to live in the same style. In his private capacity at Mount Vernon, every stranger meets with a hospitable reception." * "Few and feeble," remarked the accom-

* Weld, p. 60. This Traveller was present at a levee held by the President on his sixty-fourth birth-day; and his portrait of this illustrious personage will doubtless be interesting to our readers. "Though not an unhealthy man, he seemed considerably older. The innumerable vexations he has met with in his different public capacities, have very sensibly impaired the vigour of his constitution, and given him an aged appearance. There is, however, a very material difference in his looks when seen in private, and when he appears in public, full dressed; in the latter case, the hand of art makes up for the ravages of time, and he seems many years younger. Few persons find themselves for the first time in the presence of General Washington, without being impressed with a certain degree of veneration and awe; nor do these emotions subside on a closer acquaintance. On the contrary, his person and deportment are such as rather tend to augment them. There is something very austere in his countenance; and in his manners he is uncommonly reserved. I have heard some officers who served immediately under his command during the American war, say, that they never saw him smile. No man has ever yet been connected with him by the reciprocal and unconstrained ties of friendship, and but few can boast even of having been on an easy and familiar footing with him. The height of his person is about five feet eleven; his chest is full; and his limbs, though rather slender, well shaped and muscular. His head is small, in which respect he resembles in make a great number of his countrymen. His eyes are of a light grey colour; and, in proportion to the length of his face, his nose is long. Mr. Stewart, the eminent portrait-painter, told me, that there are features in his face totally different from what he ever observed in any other human being; the sockets for the eyes, for instance, are larger, and the upper part of the nose broader. All his features, he observed, were indicative of the strongest and most ungovernable passions; and had he been born in the forests, it was his opinion, that he would have been the fiercest man among the savage tribes. In this, Mr. Stewart has given a proof of his great discernment and intimate knowledge of the

plished Hamilton, "are the interested inducements to accept a place in our administration. Far from being lucrative, there is not one which will not involve pecuniary sacrifice to every *honest* man of pre-eminent talents."*

According to the representations of Mr. Jefferson, contained in his posthumous correspondence, the Federal Constitution was, in the early part of Washington's administration, "galloping fast into a monarchy;" and he takes credit to himself for protecting a French man of the name of Freneau, in the publication of a paper which abounded with the grossest personal attacks upon the President and the supposed "*monocrats*," to which he ascribes a powerful and wholesome influence. Those apprehensions of the absorbing nature of the powers and patronage of a Central Government, which kept several of the States for some time aloof, and which governed the policy of the democratic party, have not yet wholly subsided.† But,

human countenance; for, although General Washington has been extolled for his great moderation and calmness, during the very trying situations in which he has so often been placed, yet, those who have been acquainted with him the longest and most intimately, say, that he is by nature a man of a fierce and irritable disposition; but that, like Socrates, his judgement and great self-command have always made him appear a man of a different cast in the eyes of the world. He speaks with great diffidence, and sometimes hesitates for a word; but it is always to find one particularly well adapted to his meaning. His language is manly and expressive. He is much more open and free in his behaviour at levee than in private, and in the company of ladies still more so, than when solely with men."—Weld, p. 60.

* In Lambert, vol. ii. p. 398.

† In 1798, the States of Virginia and Kentucky framed Resolutions expressive of an idea, that the General Government had evinced a spirit of encroachment, "tending to consolidate the States into one sovereignty." These notable Resolutions were framed by Mr. Jefferson and Mr. Madison.

whatever may have been the danger half a century ago, the risk that the Government will become stronger than the people, does not," an able Writer remarks, "constitute the actual crisis. There appear no symptoms of any such consolidation of a central or permanent power, nor does any nucleus sufficiently strong or steady for such an accretion to form around it, seem to have ever existed." * According to the representations of both Mr. Cooper and Captain Basil Hall, who are seldom in accordance on any point, ever since the hour of the Revolution, the habits, opinions, laws, and principle of the Americans have been daily becoming more democratic. This has been indicated, indeed, by the growing ascendancy of the anti-federalist party, of which Mr. Jefferson was the avowed head.† Owing

* Edinb. Review, No. xcviii. p. 595. "The disinclination of the individual States to yield competent powers to Congress for the Federal Government," was the language of Washington, "their unreasonable jealousy of that body and of one another, and the disposition which seems to pervade each, of being all-wise and all-powerful within itself, will, if there be not a change in the system, be our downfall as a nation." Speaking of the too great extension of the federal powers, he adds: "I have no fears arising from this source; but I have many and powerful ones indeed, which predict the worst consequences from a half-starved, limping Government, that appears to be always moving upon crutches and tottering at every step."—North Amer. Rev. No. lvii. pp. 259, 60. Yet, the Americans appear to have no idea that the perpetuity of their Republic can be endangered by any thing but the transformation of their President into a king.

† In their manners also, Mr. Cooper tells us, the growing ascendancy of the democratic spirit may be traced. "Twenty years ago, it would have been thought a breach of politeness to address a letter to a member of Congress without prefixing honourable to the name: the better practice now is to omit it." The use of honourable to even the members of the Federal Government, "is not deemed *ben ton*." "The taste of the nation is receding from the custom" of giving any titles.—Notions, vol. ii. p. 59. Massachusetts gives the titles of "his Excellency," and "his Honour,"

to this circumstance, a considerable modification has been imperceptibly effected in the essential character of the Government, although not in its form, the executive power having been more and more encroached upon by the legislative.

The Federal Government of the United States, is, in fact, a copy of the State Governments, consisting of a President, (who answers to the governor of an individual State,) a Senate, and a House of Representatives. The President, who is commander-in-chief of the army and navy, is elected for a term of four years, by delegates appointed for this purpose by the people, and equal in number, for each State, to the members it sends to Congress. The Vice-President, who is *ex officio* president of the Senate, and who succeeds to the presidency *ad interim*, in case of the death or absence of the President, is elected in the same manner, and for the same period. The President was, according to the original constitution, perpetually re-eligible; but the example of Washington, who declined a second re-election, has been considered as almost binding on his successors, so that no President has held the office more than eight years.*

to the Governor and Lieutenant-governor of the State; but none of the other States sanction any titles. "No American can receive a title or a decoration from a foreign court without losing his citizenship."—Notions, vol. ii. p. 63.

* There is every reason to believe, that Washington's retirement from public life was in accordance with his predilections, and strictly voluntary. See page 168 of our first volume. Mr. Lambert intimates, that he declined standing a third time, in order to prevent the possibility of his suffering the humiliation of losing the election. Jefferson's party had gained strength; but it may be questioned, whether this possibility had much influence on his decision. Mr. Adams, Washington's successor, was not re-elected. Mr. Jefferson retired after serving for eight years, professing to

The National Senate was an improvement engrafted, in 1789, on the Confederation, which had consisted of a single Assembly. It is composed of two members from each State, chosen by their Legislatures for six years; a third of the members going out every second year. As the Congress represents the body of the people, the Senate may be said to represent the respective State Governments. It is thought to have had originally the character of a privy-council. Its principal and professed object, however, was the interposition of a second deliberative body, the want of which had been much felt; and since every State has two members in the Senate, it has become that branch of the Legislature to which the smaller States look for the protection of their rights, against the majorities which their population gives to the larger States in the House of Representatives. Their equality is thus constitutionally recognized, if not practically preserved. Owing, however, to the constantly increasing impulse of democratic influence, the Senate is less a check upon the other House, than upon the executive authority of the President; its concurrence being necessary for the ratification of treaties, the appointment of ambassadors, and the nomination to all the principal offices. The ministers who form "the cabinet," are, the Secretary of State, the Secretary of the Treasury, the Secretary of War, the Secretary of the Navy, the Attorney General, and the Postmaster General, none of whom can be members of the Legislature. The salary of the President is 25,000 dollars a year; that of the Vice-

conform to Washington's example, and to think, that no individual should hold the office for a longer term; but, though fortunate enough to leave a successor of his own principles, it is doubtful whether he would have been re-elected. He had always, however, been hostile to the perpetual re-eligibility of the President.

President, 5000 dollars; that of each of the Secretaries, 6000 dollars; and that of the Postmaster-general, 4000 dollars.*

The House of Representatives consists, at present, of 213 members; their number being fixed, according to a decennial census, at the rate of one representative for every 40,000 inhabitants, excluding the Indians, and counting five slaves as equivalent to three freemen. They are chosen for two years. The elective franchise is, for the most part, exercised by ballot. Universal suffrage has been gradually gaining ground, and is now established nearly throughout the Union. A State is generally divided, for the common objects of government and police, into counties which average 900 square miles, and into townships which average 90. Previously to a poll, three stations are chosen in each township for the convenience of voters; and the different legislative elections being all fixed for the same time and place, "an American in the more populous States," Mr. Cooper says, "can exercise all his constitutional rights at an expense commonly of a ride of four or five miles at the outside, and of three hours of time."† Senators and Representatives receive an allowance of eight dollars a-day for the time they are in attendance on the Session of Congress, and eight dollars travelling charges for every twenty miles they have to travel in going and returning. The thrifty citizens of some of the towns even in Massachusetts, having to pay their representatives out of their own treasuries, frequently, we are informed, decline to send any. In the Sessions of 1825, it was

* Carey and Lea's Atlas. In Warden (who has been followed by Malte Brun) they are stated differently.

† Notions, &c., vol. i. p. 350.

calculated, that 168 towns were not represented. In 1822, when the House of Representatives consisted of 187 members, it was composed of the following classes:*

Lawyers	97
Farmers	54
Physicians	15
Merchants	13
Manufacturers	3
Printers	2
Clergymen	3
	187

"It is not pretended," says Mr. Cooper, "that a member of Congress should be, as a matter of course, a gentleman. On the contrary, he is very commonly a plain, though always respectable yeoman, and not unfrequently a mechanic." † As the law requires the members to be residents in the districts for which they are respectively chosen, the remote frontier districts must send such men as they possess; and the same law, it is remarked, ensures their bringing with them as much local selfishness as their constituents could well desire; besides which, the doctrine prevails, that the will of the constituents ought to be the guide of the representative. Under all these circumstances, no surprise can be excited by the fact, that "Congress is not remarkable for the despatch of public business," whatever may be thought of the position which Mr. Cooper connects with it, that "it is not desirable that it should be so." ‡

The practical disadvantages which are inherent in this representative system, are certainly not of trivial importance. In the first place, it has been remarked,

* Niles's Register in Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 234.

† Notions, &c., vol. ii. p. 28. ‡ *Ibid.* vol. ii. p. 53.

that the immense elective machinery thus erected over the whole country, must tend to keep society in almost constant agitation, "by the friction, whirl, and dust of its wheels, whenever and wherever the immediate manufacturing of statesmen is going on." Mr. Cooper asserts, that the interest in these contests is destroyed by their familiarity, and that vast numbers of electors are content to be lookers on. But this only shews, that when the electioneering passion is not kept alive by circumstances that produce a popular excitement, the whole affair is apt to weary and pall; and there is danger that, as regards both the electors and the elected, it will fall into the hands of neither the most moderate, nor the most competent or respectable portion of the community. A more serious evil, however, threatens the Republic, as the eventual result of the system of universal suffrage. Mr. Cooper admits, that "when the numbers of those who have nothing, get to be so great as to make their voices of importance, it will be time to think of some serious change." * According to Captain Hall, the approach to this nothing, is already as close among the electors as it can well be brought. The mass of the people, as in all other countries, live from hand to mouth; and though it is easy for a man to keep himself and his family alive by bodily labour, the great majority of the population possess little more than enough for

* Notions, vol. i. p. 356. "The theory of the representation of property says," Mr. Cooper remarks, "that the man who has little, shall not dispose of the money of him who has more." But, "it is the man who has much," he contends, "that is the most prodigal of the public money." And this is thought a sufficient argument in proof of the superiority of the universal suffrage theory! In fact, the main object of American legislation seems to be, first, to prevent the permanent accumulation of individual wealth, and next, to prevent its entailing political influence.

that purpose. What little surplus property exists, is almost all in the hands of those who have themselves acquired it. Those who are elected, are, of course, generally without fortune. "There is no doubt," says Mr. Cooper again, "that the jealousy of those who have little, often induces a false economy, and that money might frequently be saved by bidding higher for talent." This jealousy may hereafter become still more difficult to deal with; and at all events, a theory of representation must rest upon very doubtful principles, which involves these consequences, and is fraught, even remotely, with fatal danger.

Nor is this all. It has been remarked by an able Writer, that, in "an extensive and disjointed empire, where unalterable geographical circumstances produce and perpetuate various incompatibilities of feeling and interest, it is the very abstract perfection of the representative system, that inevitably ensures the ultimate oppression of the smaller portions of the body. As surely as eight are more than three, so sure is it, that a multifarious empire, the government of which is truly and purely representative, will be ruled, not by the more wealthy, nor by the more intelligent, but by the more bulky portion; or, in other words, it will be governed, not by the reason of the whole, but by the relative numbers of the parts. Where the representatives of the people constitute only the check and counterpoise to a supreme authority, these representatives feel themselves much less personally charged with the particular interests of those several portions of the empire by which they are deputed; because it is found, that the balancing and harmonizing of all the parts, upon which the strength and security of the whole depend, may, to a great extent, be safely confided to

the personal interests of the supreme authority. But where the supreme power is actually in the hands of the representatives of the people, and where, therefore, it is the personal concern of no one to care more for the whole than for any of the parts, each feels individually, that it is his first and most pressing business to defend and promote the interests of that portion of the empire with which he is related. Under such a constitution, the representatives assemble in some sort like ambassadors of independent States. At home, as private individuals, they may feel the deepest concern for the great interests of the State; but in Congress, they meet to struggle and scramble each for himself and his clients." * The tendency of the rage for emigration is, to enable the Western States to outnumber, before long, both in the Senate and in the House of Representatives, the Atlantic States. The prosperity of the latter is essentially involved in the commercial policy, with which the agricultural interests of the inland States may not perfectly harmonize. It is not very easy to perceive, what security the smaller sections of the empire will have, under a government composed of a pure representation of numbers, against being sacrificed to the interests of the larger portion, unless it be by seceding from the Union.

On the other hand, these objections apply with far less force to the actual state of things in America,

* Eclectic Review, New Series, vol. xii. p. 29. The Writer illustrates his position by putting the case, that a perfect representation of the British empire, on the plan of the American Union, were assembled in our House of Commons; to wit, 400 members for India, a due proportion for Canada, the West Indies, South Africa, &c., and only a similar proportion for the Home Islands; it is obvious, under such a system, the empire could not hold together fifty years.

than they would do to the American system if extended to any other country; and this for many reasons. In the first place, it must not be forgotten, that but a portion of the actual business of either legislation or administration is entrusted to the Federal Government; chiefly that which relates to the national commerce and foreign relations. Each State is sovereign within its own territory, in all matters of an internal and domestic kind. As regards the working of the great system, this is a most material circumstance. The weakness of the Central Government may be said to arise in part from the strength of the individual States; and there is thus acting upon the community, quite independently of the former, the steady control of a domestic government, less democratic, in fact, than the theory of the Federal Constitution, and possessing a more direct and substantial authority than the Supreme Government. The disastrous consequences which would. in other countries, naturally ensue from the feebleness, incapacity, or unpopularity of the Supreme Administration, would not, by any means to the same extent, occur in the United States, where, at the same time, each State Government, being independent and underived from the Federal Ruler, might maintain undiminished its power and consideration in the eyes of the people. It follows also, that a material change in the constitution of the Federal Government would not necessarily disturb the administration, or weaken the authority of the home legislature and executive.*

* See Dr. Dwight's remarks at p. 197 of our first volume. As both the Congress and the State Legislatures are alike the organs of the people, it may seem that, their interests being identical, the one can hardly be a check upon the other. Yet, in point of fact, the States, as compact bodies, having their local interests, operate

The simplicity of society in America,—the oneness of the entire nation in language and manners,—the reciprocal intercourse between the several States,—the constant emigration from the Eastern States, which gives to them a preponderant influence far beyond their apparent representation,—these and other peculiarities powerfully tend to counteract the evils or dangers which might otherwise arise from the clashing of *sectional* interests and the continual extension of the representative system. "Universal suffrage," Mr. Duncan remarks, "will not exhibit the full extent of its evil tendency for a long time to come; and it is possible that, ere that time, some antidote may be discovered to prevent or alleviate the mischief which we might naturally expect from it." There seems, indeed, little reason to doubt that the antidote will be found; for, since the bad effects of the system must, as soon as they become pressing, produce a change of opinion very generally in the public mind, in a country where popular opinion is paramount, it cannot be long before such a change effects a practical modification of the law, although it may be difficult to deprive the people of their right of suffrage by direct restrictions.

Nor ought it to be overlooked, that the American

very much as a distinct estate in balancing the powers of Congress. M. Malte Brun says: "The laughable quackery of a legislative balance between aristocracy and democracy is unknown in the United States." But this respectable Writer would not have used this language, had he thoroughly understood the subject. Mr. Cooper says: "The true balance of power is here in the hands of legislative bodies." "It may appear paradoxical," he remarks, "but the secret of the actual durability of this Confederation consists in its apparent weakness. So long as the influence of the several States shall be of sufficient importance to satisfy their jealousy, I think it will endure."—Notions, vol. ii. p. 215. Is there no danger that such a crisis may occur?

Constitution is essentially that political system which naturally rose out of the circumstances of the country. Although, in some of its details, it has been shaped by the hands of theorists and empirical philosophists, it is, as regards its main features, the necessary result of that combination of moral and political elements which its framers had to work upon. It has been created, less by individuals, than by events; and was, if not the best, perhaps the best possible, of which the exigencies of the nation would admit. In its spirit, and in many of its provisions, it is modelled upon the British Constitution. To imitate ours more closely, would have been impracticable, if not absurd. In this country, where the power of the commons has grown up under the shadow of a monarchy, and the commercial system has been grafted upon the feudal, the commonwealth, of necessity assumes, a mixed character, combining the elements of monarchy, feudalism, and democracy, and blending the distinct interests of the court, the country, and the city. It is this alliance and amalgamation of apparently discordant materials, that excites the surprise of foreigners. "We find," says an American writer, "institutions existing together, which suppose the truth of directly opposite principles;—a king reigning by the grace of God, and a parliament, claiming and exercising the right of deposing him at pleasure; an established church, with the universal liberty of conscience and worship; equality of rights and hereditary privileges; with a thousand other incongruities." * Such is the paradox which the British Constitution seems to present; and which receives its explanation from the fact, that that Constitution is less a theoretic code,

* "America. By a Citizen of the United States."

than a series of provisions, imbodying the fundamental principles of liberty, but originating in occasion, and blending history with law. Its foundations are deep-laid in past times, which exert a real and substantial influence upon the national feeling. It is a Gothic, not a Doric structure, heterogeneous in the details, but simple and harmonious in the effect. Englishmen are not republicans, because they are not a purely mercantile nation, nor a nation of yesterday. Our aristocracy is the fixed capital of the State, the accumulation of preceding times, reinforced and repaired by continual accessions from the democracy, without which it would, long ere now, have become as dilapidated and rotten as the old feudal nobilities of the Continent: it is composed of the deposite of wealth, the superannuation of talent: it is an alluvial formation. And thus it is, that hereditary privileges in this country, instead of warring against equality of rights, are interwoven with them, or form, as it were, the fringe of the tissue. And as to the throne, that august symbol of magistracy, not the source, but the guarantee of law, the key-stone of the political arch, which, by its own stability and permanence, is the security of that upon which it rests,—it is an integral part, not only of the legal, but of the moral constitution of England.

In America, the President can hardly be called the Chief Magistrate: he is nothing more than a prime minister, the head of one of the great departments of government. The monarchy is put in commission; and in the jealous distribution of its functions and prerogatives, the "pardoning power" is the only kingly attribute that has fallen to his share. If we look for any visible depositary of the attribute of magisterial supremacy, we can find it only in another functionary, in whom is vested something approaching

to a sovereign discretion. The Supreme Court of Justice of the United States, which may be regarded as the Federal *Audiensa* or Chancery Court,* has appellate jurisdiction in all cases arising under the Federal Constitution, in all admiralty cases, in controversies between two States, or two citizens of different States, and between a State or the citizens thereof, and a foreign State or its subjects. It is thus, the ultimate tribunal of appeal over the Legislatures both of the States and of the Union; and it has actually refused to give effect, and has thereby virtually annulled, several acts of the State Legislatures, and even of Congress itself. Were the Judges of the Supreme Court chosen for life, instead of "during good behaviour," (which renders them removable by a joint resolution of the two Houses of the Legislature,) they would possess more effective sovereignty than any other functionaries; and more of the majesty of constitutional law would seem to attach to their high office, than to any other. But how far the decision of such an umpire, in case of conflicting legislation upon serious questions, could command submission, remains to be verified.

The actual administration of the civil and criminal law is, however, in the hands of the State judiciaries, who, in eighteen States, hold their commissions during good behaviour, which is virtually for life. The system of law throughout the United States, is the common law of England, modified by acts of the Federal and State Governments, which constitute the written law. The works, however, not only of Coke and Blackstone, but of the most recent English writers and the latest

* "They (the Judges of this Court) have all the equity powers which are necessarily incident to justice, there being no Chancellor of the United States."—Cooper's Notions, vol. ii. p. 210.

Term Reports, are familiarly cited in the courts. In the stability of this branch of the magistracy, its fixed and venerable character, its independence of the popular will, we seem to have the best guarantee of the permanence of the national Institutions, and of the efficiency of the complex scheme of government. It seems the link that still binds young America to Old England by a tie of moral and political relationship,—one by which she still retains her hold on elder times and the mother land.

Indeed, while we have in England many things, in the social constitution, which the Americans have not, what they have, is substantially English, both in its derivation and its political character. Their legislative assemblies were modelled upon the popular part of the English Constitution. "The principles of those beautiful republican institutions of which America is justly proud," remarks M. Malte Brun, "are the patrimonial gift of England." The democratic rights they now exercise, were, almost to their full extent, conceded to the colonists by royal charters. Rhode Island, the most democratic State of all, is governed still by Charles II.'s charter of 1663. The State Governments were never much more aristocratical than they are at present. The national institutions, therefore, like the laws, are English; the spirit of the laws is English; the equal protection they extend to every subject, is agreeable to the spirit of the British Constitution; the popular deference to the laws, springing from an interest in the laws, which forms so striking a trait in the American character, is inherited from their English ancestors; and, in the words of Burke, the American spirit is "the spirit that has made this country"—made it what it is; the spirit of English liberty. The

elective machinery, the ballot system, the constitution of Congress, the limited powers of the President,—these and other parts of the Federal polity may, or may not, undergo modifications; they are but the circumstantials and accidents: the essential principle is, the supremacy of the laws, and the equal rights of every subject to their protection. In both countries, public opinion holds paramount sway; the press, in both, is the engine of power, and knowledge is recognised as the palladium of liberty. Lastly, in both, a steady religious sentiment prevalent among the population, is the conservative principle of the national Institutions.*

If the constitution of the Federal Republic is adapted

* For a fuller account of the American Government, the reader may be referred to Warden, vol. iii. ch. 40; and to a Dissertation subjoined to Lieutenant F. Hall's Travels, containing an able exposition and zealous defence of Republican principles; strongly marked, however, by the spirit of a partisan. These authorities are chiefly followed by M. Malte Brun, (vol. v. pp. 228—247,) who inclines to the same favourable view of the American system, without "presuming to discuss its practicability in older countries." The most masterly defence of the Constitution of the United States, is contained in "The Federalist," a collection of political Essays, the joint production of Madison, Jay, and Hamilton. Able articles on the Federal Constitution will be found also in the North American Review, for January 1826, and October 1827. Mr. Cooper is of course the sturdy and thorough-paced defender of the theory and practice of the American Government in all its parts and bearings.—Notions, vol. i. letter xv.; vol. ii. letters ix. x. xii. and xiii. On the other hand, in Bristed's "America and her Resources," will be found the dark side of the picture,—"notions" just the opposite to Mr. Cooper's, respecting the democratic system, and a very disparaging view of the aspect of things generally in the United States; drawn up in the spirit of a censor, under the apparent influence of wounded or disappointed feelings. Captain Basil Hall devotes four chapters of his second volume to a dissertation on the American Government, which has no recommendations in his eyes. We have also availed ourselves of the very able article in No. xcviii. of the Edinburgh Review.

to the present circumstances of the country, it would seem to be a very needless speculation, whether it may prove capable of accommodating itself to a different state of society in the distant perspective of futurity. The only contingent evil which would endanger the perpetuity of the Republic, is war, whether with another power, or between two rival factions within her own bosom. The first, happily, can scarcely occur, except through the wanton misconduct of the Americans themselves, as there are no neighbouring powers to threaten their territory with hostile invasion. The genius of commerce is pacific; and the true policy of a republic built upon commerce, can never be otherwise than pacific. Repose is fatal to a military despotism, which can maintain itself only by aggression; but the nice balance of a popular government is destroyed, when circumstances demand a military leader. The last war, brief as it was, and confined chiefly to a few affairs of posts and frontier skirmishes, shook the Government to its foundations. The weakness or the strength of the Executive might, at such a time, be equally fatal to the Republic; and America would not come out of a successful war, without the very fabric of her constitution being warped and strained by the effort,—without having compromised some portion of her democratic liberty.

The consequences of civil discord would be still more certainly fatal. "Should the Government of America be ever heard to call for laws to put down the factious, and to declare that the anarchial spirit of the times required the application of measures unusually vigorous and contrary to the practice of her better days, however the forms of her constitution may be retained, its principles will have been rooted out." Such is the language of one of the warmest eulogists of the system.

Is the danger of such a crisis too remote and imaginary to afford any cause for anxiety?

"If ever the tranquillity of the nation is to be disturbed," Chancellor Kent remarked, "it will be upon the subject of the choice of a President." The law upon this subject has already undergone repeated changes, (in 1804 and 1816,) with a view to leave the States less discretionary power, and to augment the popular influence; and a further amendment of the system is energetically recommended to the present Congress in the President's Message, in order to make the appeal of the people more direct, and to meet the case of the widening range of competition.* The first five Presidents, who filled the chair for the thirty-six years which elapsed between General Washington's election in 1789, and Mr. Monroe's vacating the chair in 1825, were so closely identified with the history of the Revolution, that they were naturally fixed upon as the most proper persons from whom a selection was to be made to fill the high station. But that race of leaders, "the revolutionary stock of Presidents," having passed

* This important and able document has reached us while these pages were under our hand. "Under the present mode of election," it is remarked, "a minority may often elect a President;" and "it must be very certain, that a President elected by a minority, cannot enjoy the confidence necessary to the successful discharge of his duties." Other changes are recommended, dictated by the same democratic jealousy and distrust of public men, that have uniformly presided over American legislation. In particular, the President recommends a general extension of the law which limits all official appointments for four years, in order to "destroy the idea of property now so generally connected with official station," and to "promote that rotation which constitutes a leading principle in the republican creed," thereby giving healthful action to the system. It would be advisable also, General Jackson suggests, to limit the service of the Chief Magistrate to a single term, of either four *or six* years. Is this last suggestion put forth to sound Congress as to the expediency of *extending* the term?

away,* the field has been thrown open to a far larger class of competitors, none of whose claims, it may be expected, will ever be recognised with a similar unanimity. Every election is likely to be attended with greater excitement and increased risk of collision; and every recurrence of such scenes may be considered as putting afresh to trial the strength of the Constitution. The popular election of a chief magistrate, whether at short intervals or for life, has in every other country been given up in despair. "The question must be regarded as still open, whether America may triumph in having solved the problem that has defeated the ingenuity of other statesmen, and the virtue of other nations." "Our system of government," says President Jackson, "was by its framers deemed an experiment; and they, therefore, consistently provided a mode of remedying its defects." Whether the remedial provisions hitherto introduced have been for the better or the worse, may well, as Chancellor Kent remarks, be doubted, and remains yet to be decided by the lights of experience. In this, as in other respects, then, the Constitution must be regarded as unsettled.†

Under the American system, there can be little want of public men, little scope for high talent, and few inducements to seek the honourable toils of official station. Indeed, the object seems to be as much as possible to supersede the necessity for any species of professional ability, any distinguishing qualification

* By a remarkable coincidence, Adams and Jefferson both expired on the fiftieth anniversary of the National Independence, the one aged 91, the other 84.

† The technical details of the Presidential election will be found in B. Hall, vol. ii. pp. 248—253; but it has not been thought necessary to transcribe his description of the complex and clumsy machinery.

or eminence of character, and to reduce every man's personal weight and influence to a common standard. Official standing and experience would render the individual too considerable, and endanger his obtaining an unfair preponderance; and nothing less than ostracism would await him who should obtain the cognomen of the Just. Eminence of any kind is a sort of inequality of rank, which would break too much the democratic level.* Such seems to be the political philosophy now in vogue. "The Americans themselves generally admit," says Captain B. Hall, "that their system is adverse to the formation of men of commanding talents; but they always add, that, in the present state of affairs, they do better without what we call leading men....There is absolutely no such thing in America, at least that I could hear of, as men who are looked up to. Whenever I asked who were their great men, their high authorities,—reference was invariably made back to the statesmen of the Revolution,—to Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, Patrick Henry." †

Those individuals who have in succession filled the office of President, have rarely displayed, in fact, any splendour of ability. Of the immediate successor of Washington, Mr. Adams, a character has been drawn by General Hamilton, which exhibits him as far from qualified for the office of chief magistrate. Patriotism, integrity, and talents of a certain kind, he is admitted to have possessed, but not the talents adapted to the

* This is, almost in so many words, avowed in President Jackson's Message, in the paragraph where he argues against continuing any individual in office longer than four years, because few men are to be trusted, no great ability is wanted for the duties of public offices, and all have an equal right to fill them.

† B. Hall, vol. ii. pp. 275, 303.

administration of government. Extreme vanity, and an "ungovernable indiscretion of temper," were among his failings; and his administration gave satisfaction to neither party.* His successor, Mr. Jefferson, was unquestionably a man of consummate worldly wisdom and great ability, of sincere patriotism and philosophic character. His claim to be considered as either a great statesman or a sound philosopher, however, will not gain general admission. "It is confessed," says Mr. Lambert, "even by the warmest of his admirers, that when he invited Thomas Paine to America, 'with prayers for the success of his useful labours,' he committed a very indiscreet act." Nor was this the only indiscretion which tended to lower his reputation in the eyes of the more virtuous portion of his countrymen;† although he continued to be revered as the father of republicanism, the oracle of the anti-federalists. But, above all, the disclosures made in his posthumous papers as to his utter destitution of religious principles, shed no lustre upon his character. From the friend and associate of Paine and Voltaire, what could indeed be expected, but sentiments of revolting and heartless impiety?‡

Mr. Madison, who was but a youth in the early part of the Revolution, was the pupil of Mr. Jefferson, and of course devoted to his views. Having been Secretary of State during his Presidency, he was deemed by the republican party the most proper person to be his successor. His diplomatic talents are generally acknowledged to have been of no mean

* See Lambert's Travels, vol. ii. p. 389.

† See a biographical notice of Mr. Jefferson in Lambert, vol. ii. pp. 353—369.

‡ See especially Memoirs, vol. ii. p. 216.

stamp; although, in the studied obscurity and intricate verbosity of his style, he appears to have made the late Lord Londonderry his model.

Colonel Monroe, the fifth President, was, like all his predecessors except Mr. Adams, a native of Virginia. He served in the revolutionary contest with reputation; was afterwards appointed minister to the French Republic; and subsequently came in the same capacity to England, where he negotiated, in conjunction with Mr. Pinkney, his colleague, the treaty of amity and commerce which was so unceremoniously rejected by President Jefferson. He is described as possessing a mind neither rich nor brilliant, but capable of the most laborious analysis and the most patient research. Far from being a man of reading or general science, his knowledge was obtained chiefly by reflection and observation; and coolness of judgement was his most prominent intellectual feature.*

The late President, Mr. Quincy Adams, is the son of the second President; a circumstance by which his popularity seems by no means to have been promoted; but he had attached himself to the republican party. As Secretary of State under his predecessor, he had a fair claim to rank among the candidates for the presidency; and he was supported by the States of New England and New York. The other candidates in 1824, were Mr. Crawford, the Secretary to the Trea-

* This is his character as drawn in a little work published at Washington some years ago, and cited by Mr. Hodgson, in which several of the then leading public men are described; among others, Mr. Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State; Mr. Crawford, Secretary of the Treasury; Mr. Calhoun, Secretary of War; Mr. Clay, one of the Commissioners at Ghent; Mr. Forsyth, Mr. Rufus King, and Mr. Pinkney. Of the last-mentioned highly gifted individual, a native of Maryland, an interesting memoir will be found in the North American Review, No. liv.

sury; Mr. Calhoun, the Secretary of War; Mr. Clay, Speaker of the House of Representatives, who became Secretary of State; and General Jackson, the present President. Mr. Adams's merits consisted, we are told by Mr. Cooper, of "a long experience in the politics of the country, great familiarity with foreign diplomacy, extensive acquirements, great honesty, and unquestionable patriotism."* Shrewd, cold, and circumspect; ostentatiously plain and democratic in his manners and habiliments; in person, short, thick, and fat; in his habits, regular, moral, and temperate; a tolerable orator, an elegant scholar, and a dexterous politician; the late President may be thought to have exhibited a very characteristic specimen of the first-rate public men of America. It is too soon to speak of his successor.

We now hasten to resume our topographical description, after this long, but, it is hoped, not uninteresting digression. We must not leave the metropolis, without visiting one of the most interesting objects in its neighbourhood, the tomb of the Father of the Country.

The vicinity of Washington is described as extremely beautiful. The surface of the ground in the neighbourhood of the river, in proceeding towards Alexandria, is agreeably diversified with woods, meadows, and undulating slopes; but the soil, wherever it has been broken up, seems to consist chiefly of light sand and gravel. About ten miles below Alexandria, on the banks of the river, is Mount Vernon, the celebrated seat of General Washington; bequeathed by him to the Honourable Bushrod Washington, the General's nephew, and one of the Judges of the Supreme Court.†

* See Cooper's Notions, vol. ii. p. 224. Hodgson, vol. i. p. 72.

† Judge Washington has recently deceased.

The road from the Federal City crosses the main branch of the Potomac, by a wooden bridge nearly a mile in length; and after running along for a short way within view of the river, strikes off into the woods on the right. We must transcribe Mr. Duncan's account of his visit to this interesting spot.

"At the bottom of the avenue to Mount Vernon, the gate was opened to us by an old negro, who had survived the master of his youth, and who now receives from many a visiter, substantial tokens of the universal respect which is entertained for his memory. The avenue is narrow and in bad order; it has indeed more the air of a neglected country road, than of the approach to a gentleman's residence. The mansion-house, an old-fashioned building of two stories, surmounted with a small turret and weathercock, stands on an elevated situation on the western bank of the Potowmak; it is built of wood, but the walls are cut and plastered in imitation of rusticated freestone. The back part of the house is to the river; at the other side are two small wings at right angles to the principal building, and connected by piazzas, which bend towards them, so as to form a kind of irregular crescent. Opposite the hall-door is a circular grass-plot surrounded with a gravel walk, and shaded on both sides by lofty trees: two beautiful chestnuts were pointed out to me, which sprang from nuts planted by the General's own hand. On the two sides are the vegetable and flower gardens, in the latter of which is a green-house.

"The mansion-house was originally built by Washington's uncle, who had served in the British navy under Admiral Vernon, and who commemorated his regard for his commanding officer by the name which he gave to his estate. Some partial alterations were

made on the house by the General; but report says, that he subsequently regretted that he did not entirely rebuild it. It is an old-fashioned, perhaps not a very comfortable residence, according to modern ideas of comfort; but it ought now to be considered sacred, and have the most unremitting care bestowed on its preservation. He will be worse than a Vandal, who presumes to pull it down. In the hall hangs a picture of the Bastile, and in a small glass case above it, is an ancient key, which formerly turned the bolt of one of the dreary locks in that house of sighs. It was sent out to Washington by the Marquis la Fayette, after the destruction of the Bastile, as an inscription affixed, in his hand-writing, records. Over the mantel-piece of one of the parlours, is a small framed miniature of the General, which was cut out of a piece of common earthenware. It is a singular fact, that this is regarded by the family as the most accurate likeness that exists. The general contour of his face is well ascertained, and there is a strong similarity in most of the portraits; yet, those who knew him best, agree that there was a certain expression in his countenance, which is quite wanting even in Stuart's painting, and in the engraving which was executed from it. This very ordinary kind of daub, which was broken out of a common pitcher, and probably executed by some potter's apprentice, is said to possess more of this intellectual characteristic, than any of the other portraits.

"At the back of the house, a lofty piazza stretches along the whole length of the building; and before it, the ground slopes rapidly towards the river, and soon becomes quite precipitous. On the bank is a small tea-house, which affords a most commanding view of the surrounding scenery. The Potowmak widens into

a bay before you, and, bending round the base of Mount Vernon, seems almost to insulate the promontory on which it stands; then sweeping in the opposite direction round the projecting shore of Maryland, and lost for a time behind its vast forests, it re-appears in noble expanse about ten miles below, with the sun-beams flashing from its surface, and rolling its mighty current into the yet more ample bosom of the Chesapeake.

"A little to the right of the tea-house, and nearer to the edge of the bank, is the tomb of Washington. Here, under the peaceful shade of oaks and cedars, lies all that earth contains of him, by whose energy and patriotism the United States became a nation! No venerable cathedral rears its arches over his remains; no sumptuous mausoleum embalms his memory.

'Si monumentum quæris, circumspice!'

His country is his monument; his country's liberty his only panegyric!

"Washington, in his will, designated the spot in which he wished to be interred, and particularly directed that the body should not afterwards be removed. The cemetery is nothing more than a plain brick vault, almost level with the ground; it is encircled by venerable oaks, and some beautiful red cedars are growing in the mould which covers the roof. Visiters were formerly allowed to see the interior, but some person having had the rudeness to strip part of the cloth from the coffin, all access to it is now forbidden. Subsequently to this prohibition, the servant who had been intrusted with the key, conceived the horrible idea of robbing the vault, with the purpose of carrying off the body to Britain, to exhibit it for money! His intention was happily discovered, and the nefarious outrage prevented. It is difficult, indeed, to imagine how it

could have been carried into effect without immediate detection; but the projector must have been a fool to suppose that such atrocity would have been countenanced in Britain, or that he would have been permitted for a single day to carry on so abominable a trade.

"The State of Virginia applied to the relatives of the General, for permission to remove the body to Richmond, to erect a monument over it; and it is said that, notwithstanding the specific injunctions of the will, the family were persuaded to consent to this proposal. Several years, however, have since elapsed; and as no provision has yet been made for carrying the proposed plan into effect, it is generally believed that no claim will now be founded upon that permission. Congress, it is reported, wish to transfer the body to the seat of Government, and to entomb it under the centre dome of the Capitol. If it be ever removed from its present situation, certainly the Capitol is its only suitable resting-place; no individual State should be allowed to possess a deposit which, if the family relinquishes it, is undoubtedly the property of the nation, and should pass into no other guardianship. Beyond all question, however, the proper place for Washington's ashes is where they are. The secluded spot harmonizes with every idea which we have formed of his character, while the powerful influence of local associations, gives vividness to our conceptions, and intensity to our emotions. In the Capitol, every thing would have an opposite tendency. It is a building which Washington never saw, and which is no way connected with his personal history; it has once been reduced to ashes; and what would in all probability have been the fate of the body, had the removal taken place before that event? In visiting the tomb of

Nelson, in the vaults of St. Paul's, it is not the wondrous achievements of the hero which chiefly occupy our thoughts; there is nothing in those damp and dismal caverns which is at all in harmony with such recollections. An attendant pilots you, by the yellow glimmering of a tallow candle, through tartarean darkness, to the quarry of granite under which he is buried; and while wandering round it, your thoughts are engrossed with the opening which was made in the floor of the church to lower the coffin through, and of the prodigious labour it must have cost to pile up over it such ponderous masses of stone. Nelson, you scarcely think of; your ideas are all engaged about those who buried him. At Mount Vernon, no such distraction takes place. You look round upon scenery which Washington often contemplated; you tread the turf over which he walked; you see the gardens in which he amused himself; the trees which he planted; the house, the rooms, the chair, which he occupied; and the humble vault which he himself chose for the repose of his dust. Every thing is consistent; the effect is harmonious and powerful. Mount Vernon alone should be Washington's grave.

"On the opposite bank of the Potowmak, and a very little way further up, is a small intrenchment, named Fort Washington, which commands the channel of the river. Had it been vigorously defended when our vessels went up the river to Alexandria, it is believed that it might have arrested their progress. When our troops, however, were on their march to Washington, the officer who commanded it, blew it up and made off. There was no sufficient cause for such a proceeding; yet, it is said that he obeyed to the letter the orders of his superior officer. I was quite gratified to hear from a gentleman of Judge Washing-

ton's family, that when the British ships of war passed Mount Vernon, they honoured the memory of the departed hero by lowering their fore top-sails; and their bands, as another gentleman informed me, played Washington's March. That was indeed a manifestation of most correct and honourable feeling on the part of the commanding officer.

"I have mentioned, that the avenue to Mount Vernon had a neglected appearance; I am sorry to add, that similar neglect pervades other parts of the establishment. The flower-garden and green-house have nearly gone to decay; the tea-house on the bank of the river, is almost in ruins; indeed, its upper story, from which a more extensive view may be obtained, is at present totally inaccessible, for the ladder to it retains but one foot at top and another at bottom. Even the door of the vault is to all appearance so crazy, that I think a kick would go far to knock it to pieces. It is painful to observe such an air of desolation in so interesting a spot; and I would cherish the hope that it will speedily be removed." *

An interesting account is furnished by Lieutenant F. Hall, of an excursion from Washington, by way of the Shenandoah Valley, to Richmond, the capital of the State; which we shall give in his own words, as it includes a description of some remarkable natural curiosities. †

FROM WASHINGTON TO RICHMOND.

"CLOSE to Georgetown, the granite ridge strikes the Potomac. The road winds agreeably under its cliff, till it crosses an old bed of the river, left dry in con-

* Duncan, vol. i. pp. 289—296.

† These are also described by Volney, Jefferson, and Weld.

sequence of a canal which has been cut to turn the rapids. There is a chain bridge here, from which the broken bed of the river, the falls, scattered masses of rock, and lofty banks, present a wild and pleasing picture. Having pursued my way for about nine miles, I quitted the main road, to visit the Upper, or Matilda Falls.* A field track brought me into a scattered village, built along a canal, cut, like the one above-mentioned, to avoid the falls. Having crossed it, I walked along its edge for about a quarter of a mile, on a broad greensward path, as smooth and regular as a garden terrace. A little wood was on my right, the trees of which were fantastically grouped together by abundance of wild vine and other parasitical plants, trailing and twining through them; th whole conveying no inadequate idea of a stately and fair pleasure-ground of Queen Elizabeth's time. Turning short from the canal, and stepping a few paces through the wood, I found myself on a bold precipice of rocks fronting the falls. I started at a sight so much grander than any thing I had expected. As far as my eye could reach, the Potomac came down from among its woods, dashing and whitening over numberless ridges of rock, and breaking in a wild succession of cascades; till, as if wearied by its own efforts, it swept with silent impetuosity through a contracted channel between perpendicular cliffs, whose dark, bare masses of granite were scantily crested by a few pines and cedars. The perpendicular descent of the falls is reckoned by Volney at 72 feet; but the rapids extend for several miles up the river, and the whole scene has a magnificent wildness, which may be

* These Falls, though described by Volney, are not mentioned by Jefferson.

gazed upon with delight and wonder even after Niagara: so inexhaustibly can Nature vary her features, and be alike gracefully sublime in all.

"The road which ascends the right bank of the Potomac, through Lansville and Leesburg, has the credit, and I think justly, of being about the worst in the Union. The soil towards the mountains is, generally, a stiff clay; and as each waggoner works his own way through the woods, the traveller is continually puzzled between the equal probabilities of a variety of tracks, most of which, indeed, lead to the same point; but, as this is not invariably the case, he must often journey on in doubt, or halt in muddy perplexity until he can procure information. The villages are thinly scattered, but well built of brick; an advantage derived from the soil. Leesburg contains about 1200 inhabitants. The inn at which I stopped, had stabling for above a hundred horses, for the accommodation of farmers, who come together on Court days. These Court days are almost county meetings. Those who have business, attend for business' sake; those who have none, attend to meet their neighbours, who may have business with them, and because it is discreditable to be often absent.

"At Hilsborough, the road passes through a mountain gap, resembling the Wind Gap on a small scale. This ridge is called the Short Mountain, and runs parallel to the Blue Ridge, at the distance of about five miles. It crosses the Potomac below Harper's Ferry.* Immediately after passing it, the road turns to the right, and continues between it and the Blue Mountain, to which it seems an immense outwork.

* Lieutenant Hall supposes it to be a prolongation of the Lehigh ridge, "perhaps communicating with Monticello."

The land rises gradually; nor is it until you have reached the ridge of the descent, and find yourself looking down towards the bed of the Potomac and its opposite shore, that you are aware of the elevation gained. Here commences the savage wildness of the picture. Your road lies down the side of the mountain, strewed with splinters and fragments of rock, which slide from beneath your horse's feet. Immense masses of rock project their bold angles, so as frequently to leave a cranked and difficult passage. Meantime, the mountains stretching up on every side, and partially beheld between the scattered pines, seem contracting round with a deepening breadth of shadow and gloomy grandeur, until you find at their base the united Potomac and Shenandoah, boiling over their incumbered channel. Continuing your way between these waters and the rugged precipices of the Blue Mountain, through which they seem to have burst, you reach the Shenandoah Ferry. It is from the height round the foot of which the village is built, and from a broad, bare platform of rock, known by the name of Jefferson's Rock, that the eye commands the magnificent prospect which Mr. Jefferson has so eloquently and correctly described. 'You stand on a very high point of land. On your right comes up the Shenandoah, having ranged along the foot of the mountain a hundred miles to seek an outlet. On your left, approaches the Potomac, in quest of a passage also. In the moment of their junction, they rush together against the mountain, rend it asunder, and pass off to the sea. The first glance of this scene hurries our senses into the opinion, that in this place, the rivers have been dammed up by the Blue Ridge of mountains, and have (originally) filled the whole valley; that, continuing to rise, they have, at length,

broken over at this spot, and have torn the mountain down from its summit to its base. The piles of rock on each hand, but particularly on the Shenandoah, the evident marks of their disruptnre and avulsion from their beds, by the most powerful agents of Nature, corroborate the impression. But the distant finishing which Nature has given to the picture, is of a very different character. It is a true contrast to the foreground. It is as placid and delightful, as that is wild and tremendous. For the mountain being cloven asunder, she presents to our eye through the cleft, a small catch of smooth blue horizon, at an infinite distance in the plain country; inviting you, as it were, from the riot and tumult roaring around, to pass through the breach, and participate of the calm below. Here, the eye ultimately composes itself; and that way, too, the road actually happens to lead. You cross the Potomac above the junction; pass along its side through the base of the mountain for three miles, its terrible precipices hanging in fragments over you; and within about twenty miles, reach Fredericktown and the fine country around. This scene is worth a voyage across the Atlantic: yet here, as in the neighbourhood of the Natural Bridge, are people who have passed their lives within half a dozen miles, and have never been to survey these monuments of a war between rivers and mountains, which must have shaken the earth itself to its centre.'*

* Jefferson's Notes, p. 27.—Mr. Weld represents this description as far too highly coloured. "To find numberless scenes more stupendous, it would be needless to go further than Wales. A river, it is true, is not to be met with in that country, equal in size to the Potomac; but many are to be seen there rushing over their stony beds with much more turbulence and impetuosity than either the Potomac or the Shenandoah. The rocks, the precipices, and the mountains of the Blue Ridge at this place, are diminutive

"Crossing Harper's Ferry, I ascended with some toil the mountain precipice on the left bank of the Potomac. The side it presents to the river, broken and perpendicular,—its disjointed and confused strata, with enormous masses of rock jutting out, and impending above its base, seem to testify the catastrophe by which it has been rent asunder. From its summit is commanded a magnificent prospect of the Shenandoah Valley, bounded on each side by the North and Blue Mountain ridges, like gigantic walls, with the blue peaks of the Fort Mountain, rising at the distance of about fifty miles to the south-west. M. Volney estimates the height of the Blue Ridge, at this spot, at 1150 feet. It is chiefly composed of flint, freestone, and some granite, but the summit of the height above the village is schist. Canals have been cut to turn the rapids of both rivers. Flour is the article chiefly brought down, in long, flat boats, which carry about eighty barrels each. The navigation, as may be supposed, is both difficult and dangerous.

"The Blue Ridge and the North Mountain, having crossed the Potomac, bound a valley about 20 miles wide at its greatest breadth on the Potomac, and narrowing almost to a point beyond the Natural Bridge; a length of about 180 miles. It is watered by the many branches of the Sheuandoah, a few of which rise in the North Mountain, but the greater number among the spurs of both ridges, where they nearly meet, in the neighbourhood of Staunton and Waynesborough. The two principal branches, called the

and uninteresting also, compared with those which abound in that country. Indeed, from every part of Mr. Jefferson's description, it appears as if he had beheld the scene, not in its present state, but at the very moment when the disruption happened, and when every thing was in a state of tumult and confusion."—Weld, p. 140.

North and South Rivers, are separated by a ridge, named, from the peculiarity of its form, the Fort Mountain; which divides the valley longitudinally for above 50 miles, and terminates near the village of Port Republic. The basis of the soil is limestone, the strata of which are every where visible,—'ranging,' says Mr. Jefferson, 'as the mountains and sea-coast do, from S.W. to N.E.; the *lamina* of each bed declining from the horizon towards a parallelism with the axis of the earth.' The whole valley is remarkably fertile, particularly in wheat, so that Winchester, as a corn-market, has more than a nominal resemblance to its Hampshire namesake. It has been built about sixty years: the houses are for the most part small, and either of log, plank, brick, or stone, according to their date, or the means of their inhabitants. The number of these was estimated at 2500 by the last census; but there is a considerable proportion of negroes. There are more farm-houses and fewer negro huts in this valley, than in the lowlands; still, the plague-spot is too evident. At every tavern, advertisements are stuck up for runaway slaves. The barbarous phraseology in which they were drawn up, sometimes amused, but the ferocious spirit of revenge they too plainly expressed, more frequently disgusted me.

"The Fort Mountain commences near Stratford. It is named from being inaccessible but by one road; but the top of it is flat, and I was told, there are many hundred acres of very good land on it. The inhabitants of the valley are remarkably clean in their houses. I stopped at a little tavern near the Big Spring, on the floor of which one might have dined; to be sure, it did not seem a place of much resort; but I had subsequently cause to make comparisons

on this point, much to its advantage, particularly at Richmond. The Big Spring gushes from a knoll of limestone behind the tavern, and almost immediately turns a mill, and escapes down a glen, dark with cedars and pines. Some fine views of the mountains present themselves a little above Harrisonburg.

"About a mile from Harrisonburg, there is a road which turns to the left. It crosses the northern and middle forks of the south Shenandoah, and passes round the southern extremity of the Fort Mountain, through a well-settled country, to Fort Republic. From this village, the distance is a mile to the Cave Tavern. A hill, reckoned at 200 feet perpendicular height, rises on the left bank of the southern fork, the ascent of which is so steep, that, as Mr. Jefferson observes, you may pitch a biscuit from its summit into the river. The entrance into the Caves is about two-thirds of the way up. The one Mr. Jefferson has described by the name of Madison's Cave,* is used for the purpose of making saltpetre, and is seldom visited from curiosity; its attraction having been destroyed by the discovery of another cavern of superior extent and grandeur, in the same cliff, a few yards beyond it. Being private property and much frequented by strangers, the entrance is kept closed. The proprietor, an old German, acts as guide, provides lights, &c., and seems to feel much interest in his office, when he attends persons whom he thinks capable of appreciating the scene. The entrance afforded mere crawling room; but, as we receded from the light of day, the vaulting rose; and after descending some rude steps and crags, we began to perambulate a magnificent subterranean palace. Its length is

* It is also described by Weld, pp. 129—132.

reckoned at 800 yards; and taking the curvatures of the numerous apartments, it may be as much. There are about fourteen of them, of various dimensions; some low-browed and studded with pointed and glittering stalactites, like fairy grottoes; others long and spacious, with roofs so lofty, that the summits of the massive congelations, which, pillar-like, descend from them to the ground, are shrouded in obscurity. The largest of these apartments, called Washington's Hall, is 93 yards in length, of a proportionate breadth, and probably 50 feet high. It is impossible to describe the solemn grandeur of this natural cathedral. Clusters of stalactitic columns, many of them ten or twelve feet in circumference, rise in magnificent order along the sides: their colour is of a glistening brown, with frequently a shaft, a pedestal, or an intercolumniation of snowy whiteness. On approaching the upper end, our lights gleamed upon a gigantic stalactite, which, in the dimness, bore some resemblance to a throned statue of alabaster. It is called Washington's statue; but this appellation, like many other misnomers and conceits, (as Solomon's throne, David's sceptre, Adam and Eve in Paradise, which the guide forces on your notice as you proceed,) serves only to create a tiresome distraction of the attention, by introducing ideas peculiarly ill-suited to a scene, in which nature is working alone in power and beauty, regardless of the existence of man and his passions. There is scarcely a turn in the cavern which does not present some curious specimen of her sportive creation; at one time imitating the folds of gorgeous drapery; at another, representing a waterfall which seems to have been suddenly converted into marble: here, she has chiselled out the model of a Gothic

oratory; there, adorned a large sitting-room with flowers and rural implements. The larger columns, being hollow, give out, when forcibly struck, a deep and melodious sound, which, heard in the remoter caverns, has the effect of fine music. What a Pythian dwelling for old superstition!

"The valley narrows towards Lexington, and the face of the country becomes in consequence more wild and uneven, being broken into round and short hills, shooting out from the North and Blue Ridges, and thus presenting a succession of deeply-wooded glens and mountains, very agreeable after the level uniformity of the upper part of the valley. Lexington is a brisk-looking little town, and having a college, is the literary capital of the upper parts of Virginia. Arriving early in the day, I inquired for a saddle-horse to ride over to the Natural Bridge. The landlord of the tavern at which I stopped, immediately set out with me in search of one, and I reached the Bridge Tavern, as it is called, the same evening."*

Of this remarkable natural phenomenon, Mr. Jefferson's description is as follows: "The Natural Bridge is on the ascent of a hill, which seems to have been cloven throughout its length by some great convulsion. The fissure just at the bridge is, by some admeasurements, 270 feet deep; by others, only 205. It is about 45 feet wide at the bottom, and 90 feet at the top. This, of course, determines the length of the bridge, and its height above the water. Its breadth in the middle is about 60 feet, but more at the ends; and the thickness of the mass at the summit of the arch, is about 40 feet.† A part of this thickness is

* F. Hall, pp. 264—284.

† Weld says: "The height of the bridge to the top of the

constituted by a coat of earth, which gives growth to many large trees: the residue, with the hill on both sides, is one solid rock of limestone. The arch approaches the semi-elliptical form; but the larger axis of the ellipsis, which would be the chord of the arch, is many times longer than the transverse. Though the sides of this bridge are provided in some parts with a parapet of fixed rocks, yet, few men have the resolution to walk to them, and look over into the abyss. You involuntarily fall upon your hands and feet, creep to the parapet, and look over it. Looking down from this height about a minute, gave me a violent head-ache. If the view from the top is painful and intolerable, that from below is delightful in an equal extreme. It is impossible for the emotions arising from the sublime to be felt beyond what they are here: so beautiful an arch, so elevated, so light, and springing as it were up to heaven, the rapture of the spectator is really indescribable. The fissure continuing narrow, deep, and straight for a considerable distance above and below the bridge, opens a short, but very pleasing view of the North Mountain on one side, and the Blue Ridge on the other, at the distance, each of them, of about five miles.* The stream passing under the bridge, is called Cedar Creek. It is a water of James River, and sufficient,

parapet, is 213 feet by admeasurement with a line; the thickness of the arch, 40 feet; the span of the arch at top, 90 feet, and the distance between the abutments at bottom, 50 feet.

* Weld says, this statement is quite erroneous. The fissure, instead of continuing straight, "takes a very sudden turn just above the bridge, according to the course of the stream; so that when you stand below and look under the arch, the view is intercepted at the distance of about fifty yards from the bridge." Yet, Mr. Jefferson, who was proprietor of the bridge, is stated to have visited it generally once a-year.

in the driest seasons, to turn a grist-mill, though its fountain is not more than two miles above." *

This bridge has given name to the county of Rockbridge, in which it is situated. It is about ten miles from the Fluvanna or James River, and nearly the same distance from the Blue Ridge. The deep cleft or chasm, which it affords the only means of crossing, is about two miles long, and in some places upwards of 300 feet deep; the depth varying of course with the height of the mountain. The breadth of the chasm also varies, but is uniformly wider at top, than towards the bottom. "That the two sides of the chasm were once united," says Mr. Weld, "appears very evident, not only from projecting rocks on the one side corresponding to suitable cavities on the other, but also from the different strata of earth, sand, clay, &c., being exactly similar on both sides. The arch consists of a solid mass of stone, or of several stones cemented so strongly together, that they appear but as one. This mass, it is to be supposed, at the time that the hill was rent asunder, was drawn across the fissure, from adhering closely to one side, and being loosened from its bed of earth at the opposite one. It seems as probable, that the mass of stone forming the arch, was thus forcibly plucked from one side, and drawn across the fissure, as that the hill should have remained united at this one spot from top to bottom, and that a passage should afterwards have been forced through it by water." †

Geological phenomena of a similar description to this bridge, are found in different parts of the world. The most remarkable is the double bridge of Icononzo in Columbia, described by Humboldt, where, 60 feet

* Jefferson's Notes, pp. 35, 36. † Weld, p. 127.

below the Natural Bridge, three enormous masses of rock have fallen so as to support each other, and form a natural arch across the chasm.* There can be little doubt that the valley has, in each instance, been opened by an earthquake. In that of Icononzo, Humboldt supposes, that the more compact quartzose stratum which forms the bridge, resisted the shock, while the schistous gritstone on which it rests, gave way. The abutments upon which the Rock Bridge of Virginia rests, consist, Weld says, of a solid mass of limestone on each side, and, together with the arch, seem as if they had been chiseled out by the hand of art. A few yards from the bridge, a narrow path winds down the sides of the fissure, amid immense rocks and trees, to the bottom. "Here, the stupendous arch appears in all its glory, and seems to touch the skies. The more critically it is examined, the more beautiful and surprising does it appear. The small stream running at the bottom over a bed of rocks, adds much to the beauty of the scene. Besides this view from below, the bridge is seen to great advantage from a pinnacle of rocks about 50 feet below the top of the fissure; for here, not only is the arch seen in all its beauty, but the spectator is impressed in the most forcible manner with ideas of its grandeur, from being enabled at the same time to look down into the profound gulf over which it passes."

Between Lexington and the Rock Bridge, there are, Lieutenant Hall says, some grand features of scenery, particularly at the mill and village of Buffalo Creek. This was the extent of his excursion in this direction. Returning to Lexington, he descended the valley, through miry roads and a heavy country, to Waynes-

* Mod. Trav., Columbia, p. 338.

borough, 40 miles to the N.E.; crossed the Blue Ridge at Rock-fish Gap; thence proceeded to Monticello, near Charlottesville, the seat of Mr. Jefferson; and then, turning southward, descended to the fertile plains of tenacious red clay which extend to the banks of James River. The road to Richmond follows the course of the river, and has few features to attract notice. There are no towns, and very few villages.

Charlottesville has been chosen as the site of the University of Virginia, an institution founded under the auspices of Mr. Jefferson, Mr. Madison, and some other philosophers of the Virginia school. "This splendid and classic edifice," say Messrs. Carey and Lea, "in which all the orders of architecture are introduced, has been reared up under the parental care of the venerable and scientific Jefferson. Combining the grandeur of the natural scenery presented by the surrounding country, with the plan and execution of the buildings, the University of Virginia is pronounced, by competent judges, to be equal, if not superior, to any thing of the kind in Europe." * In 1823, however, it was still without a library, and had not yet come "into complete operation." Of its present state, we have no information. Richmond will fall under description, in the route which we must now proceed to trace, from the Federal Capital to the Southern States.

* Carey and Lea's Atlas. "From first appearances," says Mr. Duncan in 1818, "there seems reason to anticipate that this proposed University will be a total failure; and, from the well-known sentiments of its founders, on speculative and revealed truth, I cannot much regret that it should be so."

FROM WASHINGTON TO CHARLESTON.

"THE mail-stage," a wretched contrast to the excellent coaches in the north, is the only public conveyance to the southward. It is, in fact, only a covered waggon, open in front, drawn by four horses. Any other vehicle, however, than a stout "American stage" of this description, would be shaken to atoms by the Virginian roads, proverbial even in America for their badness. After leaving Alexandria, the route winds for several miles through woods of pine, intermingled with oak and cedar; the track sometimes so narrow, that the vehicle rubs against the trees; in other places, expanding to the width of a turnpike road, yet so beset with stumps of trees, that it requires no ordinary care and skill to effect a passage. On emerging, at intervals, from forests which seemed interminable, the eye wanders over an extensive country, thickly wooded, and varied with hill and dale; and the monotony of the road is further relieved by sudden and steep descents into romantic creeks or small valleys, which afford a passage to the little streams flowing to the Atlantic. Every ten or fifteen miles, you come either to a little village, composed of a few frame-houses, with an extensive and more substantial building, the respectable appearance of which bespeaks it to be the tavern (as the inns are called), or to a single house, appropriated to that purpose, standing alone in the woods. "At these taverns," says Mr. Hodgson, "you are accosted, often with an easy civility, sometimes with a repulsive frigidity, by a landlord who appears perfectly indifferent whether or not you take any thing *for the good of the house*. If, however, you intimate an intention to take some refreshment, a

most plentiful repast is, in due time, set before you, consisting of beef-steaks, fowls, turkeys, ham, partridges, eggs, and, if near the coast, fish and oysters, with a great variety of hot bread, both of wheat flour and Indian corn, the latter of which is prepared in many ways, and is very good. The landlord usually comes in to converse with you, and to make one of the party; and as one cannot have a private room, I do not find his company disagreeable. He is, in general, well informed and well behaved; and the independence of manner which has often been remarked upon, I rather like than otherwise, when it is not assumed or obtrusive, but appears to arise naturally from easy circumstances, and a consciousness that, both with respect to situation and intelligence, he is at least on a level with the generality of his visiters. At first, I was a little surprised, on inquiring where the stage stopped to breakfast, to be told, At Major Todd's;—to dine? At Colonel Brown's; but I am now becoming familiar with these phenomena of civil and political equality, and wish to communicate my first impressions before they fade away.* Between the villages, if such they may be called, you see few habitations, and these are almost exclusively log-houses, which are constructed as follows:—trunks of trees about a foot or a foot and a half in diameter, generally with the bark on, are laid one on another, indented a little at each end, to form a kind of fastening; their length determining the length and width,

* The high respectability of the inn-keepers of New England, is a striking feature of the system adopted by the first settlers: and the business is viewed in a very different light throughout America, from what it is in England. Dr. Dwight has ably vindicated his countrymen from the ill-directed ridicule occasioned by this subject. See Travels, vol. i. p. 369; vol. iv. p. 249.

and their number, the height of the building. The interstices are usually filled with clay; though sometimes, especially in barns, they are allowed to remain open, in which case you can generally see daylight through both walls. Situated in a thick wood, with a little space cleared around them, where the stems of last year's Indian corn are still standing among the recently decapitated stumps of trees, these] dwellings exhibit as striking a contrast as can well be imagined to an English cottage with its little garden. Sometimes, however, as in England, you may see a neat, modest-looking cottage girl standing at the door, whose placid, cheerful countenance seems to smile with good-natured satire on the external decorations of rank and fashion; and even the black faces of the little slaves, the more frequent inhabitants of these primitive cabins, are often irradiated with a smile of playfulness and satisfaction."

"The inn-keepers of America," says Lieut. Hall, "are, in most villages, what we call topping-men,—field-officers of militia, with good farms attached to their taverns; so that they are apt to think, what perhaps in a newly settled country is not very wide of the truth, that travellers receive, rather than confer a favour by being accommodated at their houses." There is, however, a great difference of course in this respect, on different roads. The following general description, Mr. Hodgson says, will apply to the taverns in the southern towns. "These are sometimes quite as large, or nearly so, as the York House at Bath. On arriving, your luggage is immediately carried to the baggage-room, that the lobby may not be crowded; and the passengers afterwards either send it to their bed-rooms at their leisure, or allow it to remain locked up. You are then shewn into a

large room which communicates with the bar, or into a reading-room filled with newspapers from almost every State in the Union. Usually about half-past eight o'clock, the bell rings for breakfast, and you sit down, with sixty or eighty persons, to tea and coffee, and every variety of flesh, fowl, and fish, wheat-bread, Indian corn bread, buck-wheat cakes, &c. Every one rises as soon as he has finished his meal, and the busy scene is usually over in ten minutes. At two or three o'clock, the bell rings, and the door unlocks for dinner. The stream *rushes* in, and *dribbles* out, as at breakfast; and the room is clear in less than a quarter of an hour. At dinner, there are frequently four or five turkeys on the table, and the greatest possible variety and profusion of meat, poultry, and pastry. The waiters, who are numerous, civil, and attentive, carve; few persons appearing to have leisure to assist their neighbours. There are decanters of brandy in a row down the table, which appeared to me to be used with great moderation, and for which no extra charge is made. Tea is a repetition of breakfast, with the omission of beef-steaks, but, in other respects, with almost an equal profusion of meat, fowls, turkey-legs, &c. I do not recollect to have dined a single day, from my arrival in America till I left Virginia, without a turkey on the table; often two in gentlemen's houses. On Christmas eve, in the little town of Norfolk, Virginia, it was said, that six thousand turkeys were in the market. This picture of the meals at taverns, is not an inviting one: they more resemble a schoolboys' scramble, than a social repast. The domestic economy of the bed-chamber is still less agreeable. If you do not make stipulations to the contrary, you are shewn, as a thing of course, into a room with from three or four to six or seven beds,

I have, however, never failed, since I left New York, by early and earnest application, to secure a separate bed-chamber." *

The approach to the southward is strongly indicated by a great increase in the proportion of the Black population. The servants at almost all the hotels in the Southern States, are slaves; some belonging to the landlord, others to neighbouring farmers, who let them out by the year. These *domestic* slaves are, in general, Mr. Hodgson says, decidedly superior in their manners and their mode of expressing themselves, to those of many of the lower classes in England. Three out of four of the black coachmen in the day's route, he found very intelligent. "They said, all they wanted was, good masters; but their liability to be sold to bad ones, and to be separated from their families, was a cruel part of their condition;—that, in that part of the country, they had the Sunday to themselves, one holiday in April, one in May, and four at Christmas;—that they had public worship on Sundays, and on one evening in the week; that many of them could read; and that some of their preachers were slaves." †

Richmond, the government-town of Virginia, is situated on the northern bank of James River, about 120 miles from its mouth, at the Falls, or the head of tide water. An extensive ledge of rocks commences just opposite the town, and extends six miles up the river, in the course of which there is a descent of about 80 feet. A canal on the northern side of these Rapids, continues the navigation to the Blue Mountains; and at particular seasons, boats can proceed still higher up. The town is built chiefly upon two

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 30—32. † Ibid., vol. i. p. 25.

hills; the northern is called Shockoe, the southern, Richmond. The former is the site of the public edifices and principal dwelling-houses. A little stream runs murmuring through the valley which separates the two hills, and falls into the James. Parallel with the river, is a long street, about a mile in length, consisting chiefly of stores and warehouses; and still closer to the river are smaller streets connected with the port. The Capitol, a handsome edifice of brick plastered, occupies a commanding situation on a ridge overhanging the town.* In rear of it stands the court-house, which is of stone, but, like the Capitol at Washington, has been disfigured by being painted. In the ante-chamber of the Capitol is a marble statue of Washington, by Houdon, an American artist; and opposite to it, in a niche, is a bust of La Fayette. The view from the terrace has been highly extolled. It is very extensive, Mr. Hodgson says, and not without interesting features, but tame, compared with the prospects from the Alleghany and the Blue Ridge, without bearing any resemblance to the exquisite combination [of rural beauty and tasteful decoration which distinguish the "rich green English landscape" that the name recals.

When Weld travelled, Richmond contained about

* This building, the Author of "Letters from Virginia" says, "will not bear a critical eye." Weld says, that "from the opposite side of the river, it appears extremely well; but, on a closer inspection, it proves to be a clumsy, ill-shapen pile. The original plan was sent over from France by Mr. Jefferson, and had great merit; but his ingenious countrymen thought they could improve it, and, to do so, placed what was intended for the attic story, in the plan, at the bottom, and put the columns on the top of it. In many other respects, likewise, the plan was inverted." The principal room, where the house of representatives met, was used also for Divine service, as, in 1795, there was "no such thing as a church in the town!"—Weld, p. 108.

4000 inhabitants, one half of whom were slaves. Of the state of society there, he gives a very unfavourable account. "Perhaps in no place of the same size in the world, is there more gambling going forward than at Richmond." * An American writer speaks of the inhabitants in terms not less severe. "The higher classes," he says, "as they doubtless consider themselves, in spite of their republican government, appear to have put on a set of manners by which they probably design to please themselves, for they surely cannot intend to please any body else. These generally live in a state of ambitious rivalship with one another, each endeavouring to surpass his neighbour in fashion and folly; a very unprofitable contest at best. After these gentlemen, however, (who are chiefly, indeed, of foreign extraction, I believe,) you may meet many of the true old Virginian breed, frank, generous, and hospitable, whom it is a real pleasure to shake by the hand." Lieutenant Hall, who cites this description of their manners, found the inhabitants polite and affable, as far as a week's intercourse could enable him to judge; but of the Virginian character generally, his impressions were by no means favourable. "They seem," he says, "especially the plantation-bred Virginians, to have more pretension than good sense. The insubordination in which they glory, both to parental and scholastic authority, produces, as might be expected, a petulance of manner and frothiness of intellect, very unlike what we may imagine of the old

* This seems to have been equally descriptive of the habits of the inhabitants in the former capital, now in decay. "Every thing in Williamsburg," says Morse (in 1789), "appears dull, forsaken, and melancholy; no trade, no amusements, but the infamous one of gaming; no industry, and very little appearance of religion."

Romans, to whom, in their *modesty*, the Virginians affect to compare themselves. Having given four Presidents to the United States, they are fain to suppose that they have obtained a monopoly of genius as well as of power, and hold in true regal disdain the honest simplicity of their Yankee brethren. These observations do not, however, apply to the inhabitants of the Upper Country, who seem to be generally a race of plain, industrious farmers, with both the sound sense and unaffected manner peculiar to this class of people throughout the Union." *

Virginia has hitherto been but indifferently supplied with the means either of general education or of religious instruction. "This part of Virginia," says Mr. Hodgson, "is not distinguished for an interest in religion;" and the State is, in fact, throughout, very deficient in churches. The most numerous sects are the Baptists and the Methodists, whose congregations are generally of the lower and poorer classes. Next to these rank the Presbyterians, who are most numerous in the western parts of the State;† while the Episcopalians, who are the most ancient settlers, chiefly occupy

* F. Hall, pp. 301, 2. A very humorous satirical description is given by the Author of "Letters from Virginia," of the Virginian "political spouters," or "talking-jacks,"—*alias* "fourth of July orators," and "slang-whangers;" which, had it proceeded from any other than a native writer, would have been imputed to illiberal prejudice.

† The inhabitants of Bottetourt county, west of the Blue Ridge, consisted, in 1796, principally of industrious German settlers, who had extended their settlements from Pennsylvania along the whole of the rich tract which runs through the upper part of Maryland, and thence, behind the Blue Mountains, to the most southern parts of Virginia. "It is singular," Weld says, "that although they form three-fourths of the inhabitants on the western side of the Blue Ridge, yet, not one of them is to be met with on the eastern side."—p. 128.

the eastern parts. "The Episcopalians," says Morse, "or, as Mr. Jefferson calls them, the Anglicans, have comparatively but few ministers among them; and these few, when they preach, which is seldom more than once a week, preach to very thin congregations."* Nothing, indeed, could be more deplorable than the state of society generally in Virginia, thirty or forty years ago; the higher classes indolent, ill educated, haughty and overbearing, extravagant and addicted to pleasure; the middle class not less inclined to indolence and dissipation, the men addicted to dram-drinking, and the women to pleasure,—their morals equally relaxed; the poor, ignorant, abject, and depraved. The passion for cock-fighting was particularly predominant, with gambling of all sorts; and in the quarrels which were frequent among the lower sort, the combatants fought with the fury of wild beasts, using both their feet and teeth, and endeavouring to tear each other's eyes out.† Of late years, the state of things is understood to have undergone great improvement; but Virginia is still far behind the northern States in the general character of her population, for which the large proportion of slaves will, perhaps, sufficiently account. In walking round the Capitol, Captain B. Hall was struck with the novel sight, in America, of a sentinel marching up and down, with his musket on his shoulder. On inquiry, he learned, that it was one of a guard of fifty men stationed at the barracks adjoining; and that this precaution was taken as a preventive check upon the *coloured population*.

* Morse, p. 387.

† See the description of the *gouging* contests in Weld, p. 110. Also, *ib.* p. 118. Morse, pp. 388—390. "This dissipation of manners," observes the latter writer, "is the fruit of indolence and luxury, which are the fruit of the African slavery."

About 50 or 60 miles below Richmond, is Jamestown, the first place within the United States settled by the British. It has long since been abandoned in consequence of the unhealthiness of the situation; and nothing is now left of the town, but an old church. "There was something quite strange to our eyes," says Captain B. Hall, "in the sight of an American ruin. I was still more struck with the appearance of many fine-looking mansions, formerly the country houses of the great landed proprietors, the old aristocracy of Virginia, but now the residence of small farmers or planters, by whom the property has been bought from time to time, as it came piece-meal into the market, since the law of primogeniture and the practice of entails were swept away by the tide of modern improvement. From these and other causes, the accumulation of large properties has been entirely prevented, even in that State where the value of these unequal divisions of property is certainly better known than any where else in the country." *

This Traveller descended the river by the steamboat to Norfolk, situated near the south-eastern corner of the State, on the eastern bank of Elizabeth River, a few miles above its entrance into Hampton Roads. This is the principal commercial town in the State, having the advantage of a safe and commodious harbour. Nearly opposite to the town, on the left bank of the river, is the navy-yard of Gosport, where a superb dock was then in progress. "The length of the bottom, from the inner or foremost block to that

* B. Hall, vol. iii. p. 80. See page 84 of our first volume. Weld found the aristocracy of "the Northern Neck" (the tract between the Potomac and the Rappahannock) in like manner rapidly decaying, and the disparity of ranks becoming less and less perceptible.—Letter xi.

which is nearest the gates, is to be 206 feet, besides 50 feet of spare room, enough to hold a smaller vessel, if required. The width of the dock at top, is to be 86 feet. As the tide rises and falls only about three or four feet, the water must be pumped out by steam-engines. This dock is in all respects similar to that forming at Charleston, near Boston, which is much further advanced. On the stocks, there was a line-of-battle ship, called the New York 74, a ninety-gun ship, and the St. Lawrence 44, of sixty guns. The frigate is round-sterned, and both are built exclusively of live oak, in a compact and apparently skilful manner." *

The excellent anchorage of Hampton Roads is formed by three streams, the Elizabeth, the James, and the Nansemond rivers. Though filled with shoals formed by the deposites from their united floods, there is still space enough to render it a naval station of great importance. A low, sandy point, called Old Point Comfort, juts out in a direction nearly S., at the junction of the Hampton Roads with the Chesapeake, forming the extremity of the neck of land which separates James River from York River. The latter, at York-town, affords, Mr. Jefferson says, the best harbour in the State for vessels of the largest size; and at high tide, there are four fathoms water for twenty-five miles above York, to the mouth of the Poropotank.† But, whether this Writer's information was inaccurate, or whether any change has taken place, or whatever be the reason, little or no use appears to

* B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 82, 3.

† Jefferson's Notes, p. 6. On the bank of York river, at York-town, are found strata of shells and earth, indicating that the land, as at Philadelphia, has been gained from the sea.—*Ib.* p. 336.

be made of this harbour; and the population of York county declined very considerably between 1810 and 1820.*

Hampton Roads are defended by Fort Monroe, recently erected on Old Point Comfort, which is to mount 340 guns, and will require a garrison of 5000 men. Captain Basil Hall was told, that this fortress covers an area of sixty acres, being intended to form a *depôt* for military stores, as well as a rallying point for the militia and other troops in the event of a threatened invasion. The work appeared to be as regular as the nature of the ground and the objects in view would admit of; and every branch of it is finished with great neatness and beauty. Those parts of the fortification which command the Roads, as well as those which look across the passage by which a hostile fleet must enter, have a double tier of heavy guns, the lower one being casemated. On the bastion, opposite to the entrance from Lynhaven Bay, there is only a single tier *en barbette;* but a counterguard is

* In America, the population depends so absolutely on the course of trade, that a town deprived of its commerce, is sure to decline. When Weld travelled, Lancaster was by far the largest inland town in the United States; yet, it contained only 900 houses. "Neither," he adds, "do those sea-port towns flourish, which are not well situated for carrying on an inland trade at the same time." Hence, Boston, notwithstanding its excellent harbour and the enterprise of its merchants, had fallen behind Baltimore; and Newport, the capital of Rhode Island, with one of the best harbours in the country, was falling to decay. York, the largest town on York river, contained, in 1796, only 70 houses, an Episcopal church, and a gaol, being not more than a third of the size it was before the war. It is remarkable as the place where Lord Cornwallis surrendered his army. A few of the redoubts remain, but the principal fortifications, Weld found nearly obliterated by the plough, and by groves of pines, although, during the siege, every tree near the town was destroyed.—Weld, pp. 31, 93.

placed beyond the ditch, so as to shield the bastion. About a mile S. of Old Point Comfort, on the other side of the entrance to the Roads, a second powerful battery, mounting 260 heavy guns, has been erected on an artificial island; the fire from which will cross that of the larger fort. Originally, there was nothing there to work upon but a mud bank, called the Rip-raps Shoal, on which there were formerly 17 feet of water; but, by tumbling in great stones, in the manner adopted at the Plymouth Breakwater, the bottom has been gradually raised.*

About nine miles S. E. from Norfolk, commences the singular marsh called the Great Dismal Swamp, extending over about 150,000 acres. This gloomy region, so appropriately named, is entirely covered with forests of juniper and cypress, where there is most moisture, and, on the drier parts, of white and red oak, and various species of pine. The soil is a thick stratum of peat moss, under which, at the depth of about 15 feet, is found a bed of sand, "perfectly horizontal," while the swamp itself has a gradual inclination, of about one foot in a mile, towards the Atlantic. The whole, therefore, is supposed to be one of those vast alluvial deposites "consequent upon the great torrent which appears to have swept from north to south over the greater part of the country." From the Swamp to Richmond, a distance of 140 miles, along the southern side of James River, the country is flat and sandy, and, for miles together, entirely covered with pines. The trees in the Swamp itself, Weld says, grow to an enormous size; and "between

* B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 84—87. When this Traveller examined it, the masonry of this artificial island was six or seven feet above the surface. The garrison of Fort Monroe was about 700 strong.

them, the brushwood springs up so thick, that the Swamp is in many parts absolutely impervious. In this respect, it differs totally from the common woods in the country. It abounds also with cane reeds and with long rich grass, upon which the cattle feed with great avidity, and become fat in a very short space of time: the canes, indeed, are considered to be the very best green food that can be given to them. The people who live on the borders of the Swamp, drive all their cattle into it to feed. Care, however, is taken to train them to come back regularly to the farms every night by themselves; otherwise, it would be impossible to find them. This is effected by turning into the Swamp with them, for the first few weeks they are sent thither to feed, two or three old milch cows accustomed to the place, round whose necks are fastened small bells. The cows come back every evening to be milked; the rest of the cattle herd with these, following the sound of the bells; and when they return to the farm, a handful of salt, or something of which they are equally fond, is given to each, as an inducement for them to come again. In a short time, the cattle become familiar with the place, and having been accustomed from the first day to return, they regularly walk to the farms every evening. In the interior parts of the Swamp, large herds of wild cattle are found, most probably having originally strayed on being turned in to feed. Bears, wolves, deer, and other wild indigenous animals are also met with there. Stories are common in the neighbourhood, of wild men having been found in it, who, it is supposed, were lost in the Swamp when children.

"The Swamp varies very much in different parts; in some, the surface of it is quite dry, and firm enough to bear a horse; in others, it is overflowed with water,

and elsewhere so miry, that a man would sink in up to his neck, if he attempted to walk upon it; in the driest part, if a trench is cut only a few feet deep, the water gushes in, and it is filled immediately. Where the canal to connect the water of Albemarle Sound with Norfolk is cut, the water in many places flows in from the sides, at the depth of three feet from the surface, in large streams, without intermission. In its colour, it exactly resembles brandy, which is supposed to be occasioned by the roots of the juniper-trees. It is, however, perfectly clear, and by no means unpalatable; and the people in the neighbourhood, who think it very wholesome, prefer it to any other. Certainly, there is something very uncommon in the nature of this Swamp, for the people living upon the borders of it, do not suffer by fever and ague, or bilious complaints, as those generally do, who are resident in the neighbourhood of other swamps and marshes. Whether it is the medicinal quality of the water which keeps them in better health, I do not pretend to determine.

"As the Dismal Swamp lies so very near to Norfolk, where there is a constant demand for shingles, staves, &c. for exportation, and as the very best of these different articles are made from the trees growing upon the Swamp, it of course becomes a very valuable species of property. The canal which is now cutting through it, will also enhance its value, as, when it is completed, lumber can be readily sent from the remotest parts. The more southern parts of it, when cleared, answer uncommonly well for the culture of rice; but in the neighbourhood of Norfolk, as far as ten feet deep from the surface, there seems to be nothing but roots and fibres of different herbs, mixed with a whitish sand, which would answer the purpose, as rice requires a

very rich soil. The trees that grow upon it are a most profitable crop; and instead of cutting them all down promiscuously, as is usually done, they fell only such as have attained a large size, by which means they have a continued succession for the manufacture of the articles above-mentioned. Eighty thousand acres of the Swamp are the property of a Company, incorporated under the title of the Dismal Swamp Company." *

The Canal which has been cut across the Dismal Swamp, connects the waters which flow into the Chesapeake Bay, with those which fall into Albemarle Sound, another great estuary, in North Carolina. "It is hoped," says Captain Basil Hall, "by the projectors of this work, which is not yet completed, that the produce of the fertile lands bordering on the Roanoke River, will be transported by it to the port of Norfolk, and thus the drooping fortunes of that town may be repaired. For many years past, they have been on the wane; and have lately received almost a death-blow in consequence of the indiscreet loss of the West India trade."

From Norfolk, Captain Basil Hall proceeded in the stage-coach to Fayetteville, a distance of 240 miles. The first day's journey, to Winton on the river Chowan, skirted the Dismal Swamp; and the last few leagues were by no means agreeable. "The road, for about twelve miles, passed through a dense forest of pines and junipers, arising out of a continued swamp, along which the carriage-way seemed to be floated on poles or trunks of small trees laid across; which, being covered with nothing but a thin stratum of earth and leaves, was fearfully *jolty*. The evening,

* Weld, pp. 102—104.

moreover, was so dark, that the forest on each side stood up to the height of sixty feet, like a perpendicular cliff of coal, with a narrow belt of sky above, serving no other purpose than to point out the way, by a feeble reflection from the ditches on either side, which looked as if they were filled with ink. Every now and then, we came to pools a quarter of a mile in length, through which the horses splashed and floundered along as well as they might, drawing the carriage after them, in spite of holes, into which the fore-wheels were dipped almost to the axle-trees, making every part of the vehicle creak again. These sounds were echoed back with a melancholy tone from the desolate blank on both hands, mingled with the croaking of millions of frogs, whose clear, sharp note, however, relieved the gloomy silence of this most dreary of forests. Anything was a relief after the amphibious sort of navigation through such a tunnel as this; and we breathed more freely on reaching the banks of the Chowan, one of the feeders to Albemarle and Pamlico Sounds. We were ferried across the stream by slaves, who stuck into the sides of the *scow*, or flat, several torches made of the pitch-pine. This blaze of light immediately about us, made the silence and solitude of the forest in our rear even more impressive than it had appeared when we ourselves were almost lost in the gloom."

On the third day, our Traveller reached Fayetteville, a very pretty and flourishing town, situated on the right bank of Cape Fear River, at the head of boat navigation.* Two or three handsome spires give

* North Carolina has not a single port that is either safe or commodious, and its produce is divided between the markets of Virginia and South Carolina. The most produce is exported from

the place a promising appearance, which is sustained by one of the best hotels in the country. Fayetteville is the centre or head-quarters of a considerable body of emigrants from the Highlands of Scotland. "These people have found it to their advantage, it seems, to occupy considerable tracts of the worn-out or exhausted land of preceding generations, and, by improved husbandry, directed by the vigorous industry of freemen, with little help from slaves, to reclaim soils heretofore considered as useless. The number of these Highlanders and their descendants, who still retain almost exclusively their native language, is so considerable, that a clerk who understands Gaelic, forms a necessary part of the Post Office establishment." *

The direct route from Richmond to this place, described by Mr. Hodgson, runs through the heart of North Carolina. A stage of 25 miles, which occupied seven hours,—the road a deep, sandy clay, in places scarcely passable, running through pine-woods,—leads to Petersburg, a little town situated on the Appomatox, one of the tributaries to James River, and carrying on a considerable trade in tobacco. From this place, the route leads to Raleigh, (137 miles from Richmond,) the capital of North Carolina; named after the celebrated Sir Walter Raleigh, who, as well as Pocahantas, the Indian princess,† and General

Wilmington, situated on the east bank of Cape Fear River, just below the confluence of the two branches, and 35 miles from the sea. The harbour admits vessels of 300 tons; but the entrance is rendered dangerous by a large shoal.

* Basil Hall, vol. iii. p. 122. This Traveller states, that, in travelling through Virginia and the Carolinas more particularly, his being a Scotchman was an advantage, as the Americans have certainly a more kindly feeling towards the Scotch, than towards the English.

† See page 80 (note) of our first volume.

Washington, figures on the signs which give name to innumerable taverns, in those parts of the country in which signs are not deemed superfluous. "The streets, which all terminate in the surrounding forest, are, as in almost all the American towns and villages, very wide; and the white frame-houses, with their neat Venetian blinds, which the heat renders almost indispensable, give the town a clean and interesting appearance." The State-house has to boast of a statue of Washington from the hand of Canova. The General is represented sitting, in the act of writing the Constitution of America, but clad in the Roman military dress with the brazen cuirass and military sandals. The likeness is said to be far from strong.

From Petersburgh to the borders of North Carolina, Mr. Hodgson says, the inns, the people, the face of the country, all seemed to degenerate; and from Petersburg to Charleston, he passed through only three small towns and a few very small villages, although the distance is 400 miles. "The log-huts were very thinly scattered; and the manners of the lower classes, both of the black and white population, altered very sensibly for the worse. Their general demeanour became more rude and familiar, and their conversation more licentious and profane: their appearance also was dirty, ragged, and uncomfortable. The Virginian nightingales and mocking-birds have been our constant companions; and we were desired to look out for racoons and opossums, but did not see any. The number and variety of the squirrels were almost incredible. I heard of several instances of from 2000 to 3000 being killed in a day, in some of the large squirrel-hunts. I once observed a beautiful one perfectly white....My companions were delighted with the frog-concerts in the woods, and hailed them, as

we do the cuckoo, as the harbinger of spring. I opened my window the first night, supposing that these choristers were birds; and it was a night or two before I was undeceived. I have not thought them musical since I discovered my mistake." *

The greater part of Mr. Hodgson's route lay through the most barren tracts of Virginia and the Carolinas. In passing through the pine-barrens,† our Traveller noticed many trees with little excavations in them, for the purpose of collecting the turpentine in the season. As soon as it begins to flow, the owner of the woods divides them into little districts, which are confided to the charge of his slaves. One negro has usually the care of from 3000 to 5000 trees. The season is from May to September, during which, the excavated basins are emptied five or six times; and 3000 trees often produce about seventy-five barrels of turpentine. Mr. Hodgson saw also the tar-pits, in which the tar is extracted from the dead wood of the pines in a particular state.

On entering South Carolina, the route passed through several large swamps, where a variety of beautiful green shrubs, among which the magnolia

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 37—40.

† Oak, hiccory, and dog-wood denote the best land; cedar and pine, the worst. When land has been worked out and left to itself, it gradually becomes clothed with wood again, though seldom of so large a growth as the original trees; and what is very remarkable, oak is almost invariably succeeded by pine. The explanation of this appears to be, that the quicker growth of the pine chokes that of the young oaks, as heath does the natural grasses. "Frequently," says Mr. Hodgson, "when passing through large woods of pine, whose hereditary title to the soil I had imagined had been handed down to them inviolate by their predecessors, I have detected marks of previous cultivation, and, on inquiry, have been informed, that the land which they occupied was formerly under tillage."—Hodgson, vol. i. p. 34.

is the most conspicuous, afford an agreeable relief to the monotony of the pine-barrens. On approaching the coast, the *tillandsia usneoides* is seen in great abundance covering the trees with its vegetable drapery, like a fine cobweb, or hanging from them in streamers. The first rice-plantation was seen at George-town, about 60 miles from Charleston, where the vacant looks and ragged appearance of the slave population awakened painful sensations. The approach to Charleston is, in other respects, adapted to excite favourable impressions. On arriving at the ferry opposite the city, the view of its glittering spires, together with the extensive bay, on which small boats are seen sailing in every direction, and the open sea with shipping beyond, presents altogether a very animated scene.

Captain Basil Hall took a different route further inland, and leading through the heart of South Carolina. His first stage from Fayetteville was to Montpelier, the name absurdly given to a solitary house on a perfect level,—"a simple set of farm offices, cut out, as it were, with a hatchet, from the dense, black pine forest, which hung all round the horizon, like an immense pall nailed upon the clouds and reaching to the earth." On the third day, our Traveller arrived at the pleasant little town of Camden, on the Wateree branch of the Santee; whence he proceeded, in an extra stage, to Columbia, the seat of the State government, situated on an elevated plain on the banks of the Congaree branch.* The chief object of interest

* The Wateree rises in the western part of North Carolina, where it is called the Catawba; it is navigable as high as Camden. The Congaree is formed by the junction of the Saluda and Broad Rivers. Its junction with the Wateree takes place near the centre

is the flourishing college established here, which has been liberally endowed by the State, and has attained a high degree of respectability. The discipline is said to be as rigid as can be enforced, and the examinations are very strict. Captain Basil Hall speaks of this city as "interesting on many accounts, but chiefly so to a stranger, from the intelligence and learning of the professors of the college and many other persons who reside there." A splendid Lunatic Asylum has recently been added to the public institutions.

The road from Columbia to Charleston sometimes traverses enormous swamps, sometimes leads through extensive pine forests, growing on the low, sandy, barren soil of these insalubrious regions.* The whole line of road, indeed, is so unhealthy, that very few persons can be induced to reside there; and during a considerable part of the year, the danger of travelling is such, that all the stages are laid up, and the mail is carried on horseback. At the time Captain B. Hall travelled, (the latter end of February,) the rivers were so much swollen by recent rains, that many parts of the swamps were impassable; and it was necessary, in one place, to turn off the road into the woods, in order to avoid a dangerous ford, known under the ominous name of the Four Holes. Accommodations on this road are very indifferent, and the houses are

of the State, whence the united streams, under the name of the Santee, flow in a S.E. course, and enter the sea by two mouths.

* The low country, a true *tierra caliente*, extends 80 or 100 miles inland from the coast, and is wholly covered with pine-barrens, interspersed with swamps and marshes of richer soil. The whole rise in this distance from the sea is about 190 feet. It is divided from the Blue Ridge by a region of sand-hills, 50 or 60 miles in extent, "resembling the waves in a high sea."—Carey and Lee, and Morse.

at such distant intervals, that the Traveller does well to carry his own provisions.

CHARLESTON.

CHARLESTON is "a very pretty looking city, standing on a dead level, with the sea in front, and two noble rivers, the Ashley and the Cooper, inclosing it on a wide peninsula called the Neck. This space of flat ground is covered with the villas of the wealthy planters, many of which are almost hidden in the rich foliage. In the streets, a row of trees (*melia azedarach*) is planted on each side, along the outer edge of the foot pavement; a fashion common to most of the southern towns of America. What gives Charleston, however, its peculiar character," Captain B. Hall adds, "is the veranda, or piazza, which embraces most of the houses on their southern side, and frequently, also, on those which face the east and west. These are not clumsily put on, but constructed in a light oriental style, extending from the ground to the very top, so that the rooms on each story enjoy the advantage of a shady, open walk. Except in the busy, commercial parts of the town, where building ground is too precious to be so employed, the houses are surrounded with a garden crowded with shrubs and flowers of all kinds, shaded by double and treble rows of orange-trees; each establishment being generally encircled with hedges, of a deep green, covered over with the most brilliant show imaginable of large white roses, fully as broad as my hand. The houses which stand in the midst of these luxurious pleasure-grounds, are built of every form and size, generally painted white, with railed terraces on the tops; and every house, or very nearly every one, and certainly every

church spire, of which there are a great number, has a lightning-rod or conductor." *

"Streets unpaved and narrow, small wooden houses, from among which rise, in every quarter of the town, stately mansions surrounded, from top to bottom, with broad verandas, and standing within little gardens full of orange-trees, palm-trees, and magnolias, are features," says another Traveller, "which give Charleston an expression belonging to the South of Europe, rather than to the Teutonic cities of the North. Perhaps, taking into view its large black population, and glowing temperature in January, it is not very unlike some of the cities on the Mediterranean coast of Africa. In other respects, it is a noble monument of what human avarice can effect. Its soil is a barren, burning sand, with a river on each side, overflowing into pestilential marshes, which exhale a contagion so pernicious as to render sleeping a single night within its influence, during the summer months, an experiment of the greatest hazard. But what will not men do and bear for money? These pestilential marshes are found to produce good rice, and the adjacent alluvial lands, cotton. True it is, that no European frame could support the labour of cultivation; but Africa can furnish slaves; and thus, amid contagion and suffering, both of oppressors and oppressed, has Charleston become a wealthy city; nay, a religious one, to judge by the number of churches built, building, and to be built." †

Yet, Charleston is deemed more salubrious than any other part of the low country of the Southern States; and during the sickly season, it is the resort even of rich planters from the West Indies. But Charleston

* B. Hall, vol. iii. p. 139. † F. Hall, pp. 315, 316.

itself is no place of refuge during the hottest part of the season. "All the inhabitants who can afford it, then flee to a barren sand-bank in the harbour, called Sullivan's Island, containing one well and a few palmettoes; where they dwell in miserable wooden tenements, trembling in every storm, lest their hiding-places should be blown from over their heads, or deluged by an inundation from the sea." * Many migrate to the mountains, to Ballston or Saratoga, or to other parts of the Northern States.

When those who decide on spending the summer in the city, are once settled there, it is deemed in the highest degree hazardous to sleep a single night in the country. "The experiment," says Mr. Hodgson, "is sometimes made, and occasionally with impunity; but all my informants concurred in assuring me, that fatal consequences might generally be expected. The natives, however, may pass to and fro between the city and Sullivan's Island (seven miles distant), without risk. Of late years, it has been discovered, that there are certain healthy spots, even in the country, during the most sickly months. These are in the pine-barrens, at a distance from the swamps. To be safe in them, it is necessary that the land be as barren as possible, and that not a tree be cut down, except to leave room for the house. Even a little garden, it is considered, would entail some risk. I saw several of these retreats, which are occupied by the overseers of plantations." † These remarks apply to the natives, whose apprehensions are confined to "the country fever," a species of ague. After the age of ten or fifteen years, they are generally proof against the yellow or "stranger's fever." But the probability would be

* F. Hall, p. 315. † Hodgson; vol. i. pp. 51, 2.

greatly against a stranger's escaping the fatal effects of the latter, who should remain in either Charleston or Savannah during the sickly season.

It is only, therefore, during a few months in the year, that Charleston is inhabited by the better class of its citizens. The races, which usually take place in February, are the signal for the principal families to visit their town houses for three or four weeks, assembing from their plantations, at a distance of from 30 to 150 miles. During this short season of gayety, there is a perpetual round of visits. Early in March, they return to the retirement of their plantations, often accompanied by the strangers with whom they have made acquaintance. They remain there till about the beginning of June, when they return to the city, or start on their summer excursion. By those who remain prisoners in Charleston, the first black frost is looked for with great anxiety towards October; after which, they may with safety return to their plantations, where they remain till the return of February. "In passing through the city at that season, when all is animated and gay, and the climate pure and delicious, it is melancholy," remarks Mr. Hodgson, "to think of the stillness which will soon pervade its streets, when the heats will almost suspend all intercourse among the natives, and when the stranger who has been so rash as to remain in this infected region, will move with fearful and trembling steps, his imagination filled with apparitions of 'the pestilence that walketh in darkness,' and his heart sickened with 'the destruction that wasteth at noonday.' But the real plague-spot of Charleston is its slave population; and the mixture of gayety and splendour with misery and degradation, is too incongruous not to arrest the attention even of the super-

ficial. It always reminded me of the delicate pink peach-blossoms which surround the black hovels of the slaves on the plantations."

In 1787, Charleston contained 1600 houses, and a population of 15,000 souls: *viz.* 9600 whites and 5400 negroes.* The public buildings at that time consisted of the State-house, the Exchange, the Armoury, the Poor-house, two large churches for Episcopalians, two for Congregationalists, one for Scotch Presbyterians, two for Baptists, one Methodist, one German Lutheran, one French Protestant, one Quakers' Meeting-house, and two Synagogues, one for Portuguese, the other for German Jews. There were upwards of 1000 Roman Catholics at that time in Charleston, but they had no public building for worship. In 1820, the population of the city was estimated at 24,780 souls; of whom the whites were 10,653, the free blacks, 1475, and the slaves 12,652. Among the public institutions, Captain B. Hall mentions the Orphan Asylum, the Workhouse (a sort of Bridewell, with a tread-wheel), the Poorhouse, and the Jail. "In the court-yard of the jail, there were scattered about no fewer than 300 slaves, mostly brought from the country for sale, and kept there at 20 cents (about 10*d.*) a day, penned up like cattle till the next market-day. The scene was not unlike the encampment of a wild African horde. Men, women, and children, of all ages, were crowded together in groupes, or seated in circles round fires, cooking their messes of Indian corn or rice. Clothes of all colours were hung up to dry on the wall of the prison, coarse and ragged; while the naked children were playing about quite merrily, unconscious

* Morse, p. 428.—"What evinces," it is added, "the healthiness of the place, upwards of 200 of the white inhabitants were above 60 years of age."

(poor little wretches!) alike of their present degradation and their future life of bondage. On the balcony stood three or four slave-dealers, overlooking the herd of human victims below, and speculating upon the qualities of each." *

Charleston has enjoyed the reputation of containing the most polished circle of society of any city in the United States, the very *beau monde* of America; and not wholly, it should seem, without reason. Mr. Hodgson says, that the best society there, though not very extensive, is much superior to any that he had previously met with. "It consists of a few patrician families, who form a select circle, into which the *novi homines*, unless distinguished by great personal merit, find it extremely difficult to gain admission. Strangers well introduced, and of personal respectability, are received with much liberality and attention. Many of the old gentlemen were educated at English colleges, and retain something of their original attachment to the mother country, notwithstanding their sensibility to recent calumny and misrepresentation. Their manners are extremely agreeable, resembling the more polished of our country gentlemen, and are formed on the model of what in England we call 'the old school.' They are, however, the last of their generation, and will leave a blank much to be deplored when they pass away. The young ladies of the patrician families are delicate, refined, and intelligent, rather distant and reserved to strangers, but frank and affable to those who are familiarly introduced to them by their fathers and brothers. They go very early into company, are frequently married at sixteen or eighteen years of age, and generally under twenty,

* B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 169, 70.

and have retired from the vortex of gay society before even the fashionable part of my fair countrywomen would formerly have entered it. They often lament that the high standard of manners to which they have been accustomed, seems doomed to perish with the generation of their fathers. The fact is, that the absence of the privileges of primogeniture, and the consequent repeated subdivision of property, are gradually effecting a change in the structure of society in South Carolina, and will shortly efface its most interesting and characteristic features." *

At the races in 1828, the great rendezvous of the fashionables of Charleston, Captain B. Hall says, there was no great show of carriages, and not above a dozen ladies on the stand. He was informed, that it was a most unfavourable specimen, and that of late years, the races had been falling off, "chiefly in consequence of the division of property, by which so many of the larger estates had been melted down." The great landed proprietors who had been the chief supporters of these gayeties, and who had given such *éclat* to the Charleston races in former days, are no longer to be found on the turf. There is still, however, a "jockey club;" and our Traveller was invited to a ball, handsomely got up in the great rooms belonging to the St. Andrew's Society. Every thing was ordered in the best style; only, "the ladies and gentlemen appeared entire strangers to each other," and the coldest possible formality characterized their manners, imparting a strange air of solemnity to the light amusement.†

The praise of hospitality, taking the word in its proper acceptation, has been, Lieutenant Hall remarks,

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 48—50.
† B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 146, 149.

somewhat too liberally conceded to the inhabitants of Charleston, and to the Americans generally. "While I was in the north," says this Traveller, "I was constantly told of the hospitality of the south. At Philadelphia, I found it ice-bound; at Baltimore, there was indeed a thaw; but at Washington, the frost, probably from the congealing influence of politics, was harder than ever; the thermometer rose but little at Richmond; and when I arrived at Charleston, I was entertained, not with its own hospitality, but with a eulogy upon that of Boston." By hospitality, he explains himself as meaning "that liberal entertainment which spreads a couch and table for the stranger, merely because he is a stranger." "Of such hospitality," he says, "the Traveller will find nothing, except, indeed, his rank and character should be such as to give *éclat* to his entertainers. The ordinary pilgrim must be content, if his letters of introduction procure him, as they certainly will, a courteous reception and a dinner; he will also find a ready and polite admission into general society; and this ought to satisfy him. As long as there are taverns open, he has no claim; and every civility is a matter of grace. Yet, hospitality is still talked of, both by Americans and by strangers, as if it were still alive. The free reciprocation of civilities betwixt citizens of different States, when connected by commercial or other ties, fosters the delusion. The New York merchant is liberally entertained at Charleston; and he of Charleston receives an adequate return of civilities at New York. This is not hospitality, but a mutual exchange, founded on mutual convenience.* Let not, however,

* The hospitality of the desert, however, is not less a mutual exchange founded on common liability; and the Writer's distinc-

a change of customs be considered as a reproach. Society has, in all countries, moved through the same gradations. Hospitality belongs to that period which, in a certain point of view, is to be styled barbarous; and it would become a superhuman virtue, were it to survive the moment when it ceases to be as pleasing to the entertainer as necessary to his guest. It probably still lingers on the banks of the Mississippi; it will accompany the advanced guard of settlers down the shores of the Missouri; be driven thence to the neighbourhood of the Columbia, and finally drowned in the Pacific." *

Of the manners of the people of the Southern States generally, this Traveller draws a very unfavourable picture. Those of the lower classes, he says, are brutal and depraved; those of the upper, corrupted by the slave system, are frequently arrogant and assuming. "Unused to restraint or contradiction of any kind, they are necessarily quarrelsome; and in their quarrels, the native ferocity of their hearts breaks out. Duelling is not only in general vogue, but is practised with circumstances of peculiar vindictiveness....

tion is not quite so broad as it appears. In fact, his remarks require much qualification to be entirely just; but, as they serve to illustrate a trait of the national manners, it has been thought proper to insert them. Mr. Jefferson told our Traveller, that, in his father's time, "it was no uncommon thing for gentlemen to post their servants on the main road, for the purpose of amicably waylaying and bringing to their houses any traveller who might chance to pass." It must be inferred, that travellers were then rare, and that the information and pleasure communicated by the stranger, furnished the motive to this extraordinary display of hospitality, which, according to this Writer, becomes superhuman as soon as it ceases to be selfish. That is to say, higher motives must prompt to the exercise of the true Christian hospitality (φιλοξενια): in this sense, he is right.

* F. Hall, pp. 317—319.

Among the planters, there are individuals who, by a judicious use of the advantages of leisure and fortune, by travel and extensive intercourse with the world, have acquired manners more polished, and sentiments more refined, than are the common lot of their fellow citizens in other parts of the Union; but these are rare exceptions, stars in darkness, which shine more sensibly to mark the deep shadows of the opposite extreme, where the contrast is strong, perpetual, and disgusting." *

"The highest class of Carolinians," according to Mr. Hodgson, "are men of good breeding and liberal education. They assume a superiority in these respects, even over the Virginians, and it appears to be generally conceded to them." † The planters in this State are, in fact, the most opulent of their class: it is the only one of the old States, in which the slaves outnumber the free inhabitants. This circumstance, together with the climate, sufficiently explains the peculiarities by which they are said to be distinguished, and which are substantially those of the West India Creole. "The Carolinians," says Dr. Ramsay, "combine the love of liberty, hospitality, charity, and a sense of honour, with dissipation, indolence, and a disposition to contract debts." ‡ This love of liberty, attributed to the proprietors of slaves, may seem a strange misnomer; but the paradox has been well explained by Burke. Speaking of these Southern States, in his famous oration on Conciliation with the Colonies, he remarked, that there was a circumstance

* F. Hall, pp. 354, 5.

† Hodgson, vol. i. p. 65. "Being a Carolinian, I thought he might be dull, but I had no doubt he was a gentleman"—is cited from the lips of a Virginian.

‡ Cited in Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 194.

attending them, which rendered the spirit of liberty "still more high and haughty than in those to the northward. It is that, in Virginia and the Carolinas, they have a vast multitude of slaves. Where this is the case in any part of the world, those that are free, are by far the most proud and jealous of their freedom. Freedom is to them not only an enjoyment, but a kind of rank and privilege. Not seeing there, that freedom, as in countries where it is a common blessing, and as broad and general as the air, may be united with much abject toil, with great misery, with all the exterior of servitude, liberty looks, amongst them, like something that is more noble and liberal. I do not mean," said the Orator, "to commend the superior morality of this sentiment, which has at least as much pride as virtue in it; but I cannot alter the nature of man. The fact is so; and those people of the southern colonies are much more strongly, and with a higher and more stubborn spirit, attached to liberty, than those to the northward. Such were all the ancient commonwealths; such were our Gothic ancestors; such, in our days, were the Poles; and such will be all masters of slaves, who are not slaves themselves. In such a people, the haughtiness of domination combines with the spirit of freedom, fortifies it, and renders it invincible." *

It is obvious, however, that this aristocratic spirit of independence can, only under accidental circumstances, put on the semblance of a love of freedom, or become instrumental in laying the foundations of political liberty. It is as essentially hostile to a democratic equality on the one hand, as to the necessary control of a powerful Executive on the other. The Carolinian gentry, accordingly, have been for the most

* Burke's Speeches, vol. i. p. 290.

part anti-federalists; but, though democrats in Congress, they are aristocrats at home; and when the old patrician class shall have passed away, society will have gained nothing by the substitution of a more numerous body of plebeian tyrants, as inferior in refinement as in affluence and personal consideration.

The subject of Slavery is discussed at great length by Captain Basil Hall, and by several other Travellers; but we must content ourselves with very briefly indicating the main points of view in which it presents itself to consideration, in its bearings upon the American character, and the future prospects of the Republic. Its existence is so enormous an evil, and it is so foul a blot upon the scutcheon of American Independence, that, viewed in the abstract, it may seem to admit of no extenuation or defence. But the circumstances under which slavery originated in that country, and the efforts made by the people of the Northern States to promote its abolition, must be admitted to go some way towards clearing the national character from the unfair imputations to which it has given rise.*

It was during the time that they were the slaves of

* It is not a little curious to find a writer in the Quarterly Review, a journal which has been one of the principal supporters of the West India system, thus taunting the Americans: "There is something whimsical, and not very consistent, in this free republican government appealing perpetually to 'the rights of nature,' in whose territories every sixth man is in a state of absolute and unmitigated slavery." "And this taunt from Englishmen," exclaim the North American Reviewers, in reply; "the people, under whose authority the United States were settled; by whose laws slavery was introduced and established in America; whose King put his *veto* on the ordinances adopted by our Assemblies to suppress the slave-trade;—by Englishmen, the owners, at the present day, of the West Indies, where not every sixth man is a slave, but possibly every sixth man is free, and the five others are held 'in absolute and unmitigated slavery,' by the bayonets of English freemen."—North American Review, No. lxi. p. 514.

a British colony, that the poor African was first transported across the Atlantic, from his native country to the coasts of the American Continent. In British ships, by British capital, and with the sanction of a British parliament, slavery was first introduced; and the attempts of several of the colonial legislatures to abolish the importation of slaves, were long defeated by the royal negative. The refusal of America to deal any more in the inhuman traffic of negro slaves, was referred to by Mr. Burke in parliament, as one of the causes of her quarrel with Great Britain; and, in fact, the refusal of the British Government to permit the Virginians to exclude slaves by law, was enumerated among the reasons of separation from the mother country.* And as, antecedently to the Revolution, no exertion to check the progress of slavery could have received the smallest countenance from the British Government, so, it is perhaps demonstrable, that at no period since the Revolution, could the abolition of slavery in the Southern States have been safely undertaken: the foundations of the newly established governments would have been scarcely able to support the fabric under any shock which so arduous an attempt might have produced.†

The abolition of slavery has, however, been completely effected since the Revolution, not only in all the States of New England, where slaves were never very numerous, but also in New York and Pennsylvania; and in New Jersey and Delaware, the slaves are reduced to a small number. In Maryland, they have also decreased. A society for the abolition of slavery

* Burke's Speeches, vol. i. p. 299. Clarkson's History of the Abolition, vol. i. p. 185. Jefferson's Memoirs. Autograph of Declaration.

† The language of Judge Tucker, cited by Walsh.

in the federal district, has recently been organised in the city of Washington, where, to the disgrace of the Congress, a great portion of the labour on the public works now in progress, has been performed by slaves. Indeed, the climate and soil of Virginia, Maryland, and Kentucky, it has been remarked, offer very few of the ordinary excuses for the employment of negro labour. And what is more, in many of the districts, the land is so exhausted by the tobacco crops,* that the slaves cannot reproduce so much as they consume; a discovery which could not fail to hasten the extinction of slavery in those districts were it not, that, of late years, the increased demand for slave labour in the more Southern States, has led to the revival of an extensive slave-trade in the heart of the United States.

It is this atrocious fact which constitutes the most serious charge against the Americans and their Government. It is unlawful to *import* slaves from abroad into any part of the United States; but it is legal to *transport* them from one Slave State to another. "The ideas connected with a deliberate Slave-trade, were at first so revolting to the Americans, that, in most of the southern legislatures, laws were passed, forbidding the traffic. These laws," remarks Captain Basil Hall, "were made in perfect good faith; but, like the laws of other countries, prohibiting the export of specie or the import of silk, they were soon evaded, and having become utterly inefficient, were necessarily abandoned altogether, leaving the trade as free as that between the coast of Africa and the Brazils. It was never intended by the governments of the Southern States, by these enactments against the importation of slaves, to prevent persons who came to

* Basil Hall, vol. iii. p. 195.

settle there, from bringing their own negroes with them; since, had been it so arranged that no settler could import his slaves, the ground must have remained uncultivated to this hour.* The laws alluded to were directed against the mere thorough-paced slave-dealer. The permission, however, for new comers to import their own gangs of negroes, opened so easy a door for evading the law, that the State legislatures, after a time, discovered the inefficiency of their enactments, and gave up the point. This great internal slave-trade is carried on by sea as well as by land." This Traveller saw a brig from Baltimore lying alongside of the Levée at New Orleans, with upwards of 200 negroes on board, her decks presenting a scene which forcibly reminded him of Rio Janeiro. "In the one case, the slaves were brought from the savage regions of Africa; in the other, from the very heart of a free country. To the poor negro, the distinction is probably no great matter." †

The more northern plantations are becoming, under these circumstances, "a vast breeding-ground," where blacks are reared for the express purpose of supplying the fatal and ever-widening market in the States bordering on the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi. Mr. Hodgson, in 1820, fell in with numerous gangs continually, on his route from the Atlantic to the Gulf of Mexico; and he was informed, that from 4000 to 5000 *per annum* are occasionally sent down to New Orleans; a place the very name of which seems to strike terror into the slaves and free negroes of the Middle States. "Instances are not rare," says this gentleman, "of slaves destroying themselves, to avoid being sent to Georgia or New Orleans. Yet, slaves

* A questionable assertion. † Capt. B. Hall, vol. iii. p. 198.

are marching in open day, in manacles, on their melancholy journey southward, past the very walls of the Capitol, where the Senate of this free Republic conduct their deliberations! Indeed, this trade between the Middle and Southern States, has given rise to the horrible practice of kidnapping free black men, and has introduced into the heart of a country pre-eminently proud of her free institutions, a sort of *tegria* or man-stealing, which, one had hoped, was confined to the deserts of Africa. It is stated by Mr. Torrey, in a work called 'American Slave Trade,' that, under the existing laws, if 'a free-coloured man travels without passports certifying his right to his liberty, he is generally apprehended, and frequently plunged, with his progeny, into slavery by the operation of the laws.' He observes: 'The preceding facts clearly exemplify the safety with which the free-born (black) inhabitants of the United States may be offered for sale, and sold, even in the metropolis of liberty, as oxen, even to those who are notified of the fact, and are perhaps convinced that they are free.'" *

In the Southern States, where the fears of the slave-proprietors are tremblingly alive to the danger of a negro insurrection, the condition of the free man of colour, Lieutenant F. Hall remarks, is scarcely preferable to that of a slave. "Subjected to the same mode of trial, exposed to the same jealous *surveillance*, carefully excluded from all the rights and privileges of citizenship, and surrounded with snares of every kind, both legal and illegal, his freedom seems but a mockery superadded to oppression. The Statute de-

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 194—6. See also "Address to the Inhabitants of Columbia."—Basil Hall, vol. iii. p. 44.

clares, that every man of colour shall be presumed a slave. Every newspaper is a commentary on the injustice and barbarity of this enactment. Every day, men of colour are advertised as taken up on suspicion of being slaves: they are committed to jail, and, if no owner appears, are sold to pay expenses. But the direct operation of the law is not all the free man of colour has to dread. The humane exertions of some gentlemen of the Charleston bar, have lately brought to light a singular system for kidnapping free negroes, and selling them as slaves into Kentucky, or any State at a distance from their connexions. The agents were, a justice of the peace, a constable, and a slave-dealer.....The traffic had been long carried on, when discovered and exposed in a court of justice; but since, by the present law, there is no such offence as man-stealing, it could be punished as false imprisonment only. Should not the shame of discovery produce a stronger impression on the parties engaged in this iniquitous traffic, than can be expected from their depraved habits, it is more than probable, it will continue to be carried on with keener, and perhaps more atrocious dexterity than before." *

"The Americans," says Captain Basil Hall, "are perpetually taunting England with having entailed slavery upon their country." This taunt, if provoked by sweeping criminations, may come as a fair retort from an American of the Northern States. But, as regards the validity of the plea, the whole case has completely altered its character, since the acquisition of Florida and Louisiana, countries cultivated wholly by slaves; and still more, by the introduction of Missouri into the Union as a State, where no similar necessity for

* F. Hall, pp. 326—28.

slave-cultivation, on account of climate, was even pretended to exist, but where, nevertheless, slavery has been introduced by the solemn act of the Legislature. The ascendancy thereby given to the slave-holding States in the Senate, and eventually in Congress, affords a melancholy prospect as to the probability of any legislative remedies. Congress has not, in fact, we are reminded by Captain Basil Hall, by the terms of the Constitution, the slightest shadow of right to meddle with the internal concerns of the States, and least of all with those which relate to slavery. "Any assumption of such pretensions on the part of Congress, would be so instantaneously resisted,—by actual force, if necessary,—by the whole mass of the slave-holding States, that the idea could not exist one hour. If such intentions of interference with the slave system should ever be seriously contemplated, either by a powerful Executive, or by a majority of the members of Congress from the non-slave-holding States, the inevitable consequence would be a division of the Union.....It is useless then for foreigners to hold the language of reproach or of appeal to America, thereby implying a belief in the existenee of such legislative power." *

This is, indeed, an appalling statement; especially as the slave-holding States now amount to fifteen, and, with Arkansas and Florida, to seventeen States against nine. Their legislative influence, however, would be more formidable than their physical strength; for an armed resistance would probably be fatal only to the slave-proprietors, by encouraging a servile insurrection. In the eleven principal slave-holding States, not much more than three millions of whites are scattered over an area of 490,000 square miles, while the slaves

* Basil Hall, vol. iii. pp. 199, 210,

and free blacks amount to nearly two millions. In Louisiana and South Carolina, they outnumber the Whites. In New England and the other States north of the Chesapeake, on the other hand, about five millions of Whites are found within an area of 162,000 square miles; the White population being, in those States, more than four times as dense. An appeal to force, however, is out of the question: a dissolution of the Union would be the more likely result of an irreconcilable disagreement between the slave-holding and the other States. It will soon become a serious question, whether such a separation, if the only alternative, is not imperative on every State which would free itself from the guilt of participating in a national crime, that calls so loudly for the retributive judgement of Heaven. "The monitory voice of the patriots of the Revolution," the fearful precedent of Hayti, "the brilliant example of the South American Republics,"—all unite in urging upon the several States, by every consideration of duty and policy, the redress of this enormous evil. If, to adopt the language of President Jefferson, (in the Declaration of Independence which set forth the wrongs of his country,) the Republican Government shall persist in "waging war against human nature itself, violating its most sacred rights of life and liberty in the persons of those who have never offended it,"—and, "determined to keep open a market where men may be bought and sold," shall negative every "attempt to prohibit or to restrain this execrable commerce,"—the emphatic words of the same President may suggest what America must expect: "I tremble for my country, when I reflect that God is just, and that his justice cannot sleep for ever." *

* Notes on Virginia, p. 241. F. Hall, p. 333.

FROM CHARLESTON TO NEW ORLEANS.

THE district between Charleston and Savannah, is fertilized by the waters of the numberless streams that drain the rich State of South Carolina. Of these, the principal are, the Edisto, the Salt-ketcher, the Coosawhatchie, and the Pocotaligo. On approaching the river Savannah, which divides South Carolina from Georgia, the route traverses a long swamp of alluvial formation, which Captain B. Hall supposes to have been, in remote times, the bed of the river. Here, the road passes along a causey, several miles in length, formed of transverse logs. A thick mist frequently rises from the swamp, which in summer must be highly deleterious; and the whole road is indeed, in the hot season, extremely unhealthy.

The "showy town of Savannah," as Capt. B. Hall styles it, stands on the very edge of the right bank of the river from which it takes its name, on a high, sandy bluff, about 50 feet above the water, and 18 miles from its mouth. When seen from the river, it is rendered striking by several tall spires and public buildings mingling with groves of trees, or standing boldly up against the sky above them. The town is laid out in long and very broad streets, which meet at right angles; and in all the streets and squares are planted shady rows of the tree called "the Pride of India," which is a great favourite with the inhabitants. The streets are unpaved, and, except in the middle path, which is a heavy, disagreeable sand, they are covered with grass. The horses, as in most of the towns in the South, are unshod. Captain B. Hall was surprised at the absence of verandahs, those useful and ornamental appendages, so general at Charleston and

most other places in the South; but no explanation of the circumstance is given. When Mr. Hodgson was there, a destructive fire had given the town a most desolate appearance; yet, the inhabitants were running up their wooden houses again with great rapidity. Brick and stone houses are, however, becoming more common than formerly.*

Savannah, the original capital of Georgia, is still the principal city in the State, though the seat of government has been successively removed to Augusta, 123 miles N.W. of Savannah, and to Milledgeville, nearly in the centre of the State. In 1789, Savannah contained 227 dwelling-houses, an Episcopal church, a German Lutheran church, a Presbyterian church, and a synagogue. The number of its inhabitants, exclusive of the blacks, was estimated at 830, including 70 Jews. A Methodist, a Baptist, and a Roman Catholic chapel have since been added to the places of public worship; besides which, the public edifices consist of a court-house, a jail, an alms-house, a theatre, a public library, an academy, and an exchange. There are ten public squares, each of two acres, with a pump in the middle. The population is now about 8000, including the slaves and free blacks. The shipping belonging to the port amounted, in 1816, to 12,776 tons. Vessels drawing 14 feet water come up to the wharfs; larger vessels take in their

* Fires, Mr. Hodgson says, are continually occurring in this country. "In Charleston, a person is stationed every night on the steeple of one of the churches, to watch and give the alarm in case of fire, as the inhabitants are never free from the apprehension of an insurrection of slaves in the confusion of a premeditated or accidental conflagration." In Savannah, as in Charleston, are great numbers of turkey-buzzards, which the law protects on account of their usefulness as scavengers.

cargoes at Five Fathom Hole, three miles below. Tybee bar, at the entrance of the river (in lat. 31° 57′), has 16 feet water at half tide. Boats can ascend the river as high as the Falls at Augusta, 140 miles above Savannah; and beyond the Falls, the river is navigable 60 miles higher up, to the mouth of the Tugulo, one of its head streams. A steam-boat now furnishes a regular communication with Augusta. Mr. Hodgson proceeded thither by land; and he gives the following description of the intervening country.

"In proceeding from the coast to Augusta, we passed, for forty or fifty miles, along a level plain, the greater part of which is covered with lofty forests of pine, oak, elm, tulip, plane, and walnut. About one third of this plain consists of immense swamps, which, interlocking with each other, form part of the long chain stretching for several hundred miles along the coast of Georgia and the Carolinas, and penetrating from ten to thirty miles into the interior. In these swamps, in addition to the trees above mentioned, we meet with cypress trees of an enormous growth, beech, maple, the magnolia grandiflora, azalias, andromedas, and a variety of flowering shrubs. Soon after leaving the plain, we reached what are called the Sand-hills, from 200 to 300 feet above the level of the sea, where extensive forest plains and green savannahs, with occasional ascents of more or less abrupt elevation, succeed each other until you approach Augusta. There, we found ourselves surrounded with immense cotton-plantations, and all 'the pomp and circumstance' of commerce; carts coming in from the country with cotton, and crowding the streets, or rather avenues of this rural town; tradesmen and agents bustling about in different directions; wharfs loaded

with bales; and steam-boats darkening the air with their black exhalations. At the hotel where I lodged there were seventy persons daily at table."

The site of Augusta appears to have been judiciously chosen. The town stands on an extensive plain of sand, about 40 feet above the Savannah. Being the seat of justice for Richmond county, it has a handsome court-house and jail, and contained in 1818, two churches for a population of about 5000, including persons of colour. The whites were chiefly New Englanders, with a few Europeans, attracted by the hope of gain. Eligible as is its situation for business, the marshes with which it is nearly surrounded, charge the atmosphere with pestilential effluvia, rendering it far from a desirable residence. The summer of 1817 had proved very fatal. With the exception of the public buildings, the town consisted chiefly of wood-frame buildings neatly painted; but a substantial range of brick buildings had been recently erected by the "Augusta Bridge Company." The new bridge, of which this company enjoyed the toll, had been lately constructed, at a great expense, of timber, resting on piles placed at such distances as, it was hoped, would allow the drift wood to pass through, in heavy freshets, without endangering its safety.* Augusta stands in the high road from Columbia to Savannah.

From this town, Mr. Hodgson pursued his route on horseback, across the State, towards New Orleans. His first stage was 28 miles, to a small tavern or country inn. Here, the first question put to him by the landlady, and which was eagerly repeated wherever he stopped, was, what was the price of cot-

* Tell Harris, pp. 65—67.

ton at Augusta. The fluctuations in this article come home to 'the business and bosoms' of the poorest family, since every one is more or less concerned in its cultivation. To the inquiry whether there were any schools in the neighbourhood, our Traveller's hostess replied, that there was an academy to which her daughter went when cotton was 30 *cents* a pound; that she paid 300 dollars *per annum* for her board, and 50 more for learning the piano; but that, as cotton had fallen to 15 *cents*, she could not afford to buy an instrument, and supposed her daughter must forget her music! At the tavern where Mr. H. halted to breakfast the next day, among other books on the chimney-piece were, a Bible, a Testament, a hymn-book, a book of Geography, Kett's Elements, Lord Byron's Poems, and the Life of Harriet Newell.* These are an average specimen of the books which are generally found lying about in the country inns, and which are not unfrequently "mere stragglers from no despicable library in the landlord's bed-room." The day's stage terminated at the house of a worthy cotton-planter, miller, farmer, and innkeeper, on the bank of the Ogechee river, which falls into the ocean 15 miles S.W. of Savannah.

The road had thus far run along a pine-ridge, through a country by no means thickly settled. The third day, a stage of 36 miles led to Milledgeville, the capital of the State, on the Oconee river, a branch of the Alatamaha. Vessels of 30 tons ascend as high as this town, 200 miles from the bar at the mouth of the Alatamaha. The only object of interest at this

* At Fort Dale, in Alabama, the landlord of a solitary inn had among his books, the Bible, the Koran, a hymn-book, Nicholson's Encyclopædia, Sterne, Burns, Cowper, Cœlebs, Camilla, and the Acts of the Alabama Legislature, of which he was a member.

place, noticed by our Traveller, was "a very handsome prison or penitentiary, which would do credit even to Gloucester." His next stage, 32 miles, was to Fort Hawkins, "a small quadrangle of wooden buildings, supposed, during the late war, to be of some importance in intimidating the Lower Creek Indians." In the course of the day's journey, several settlements were passed, and occasionally, the eye was gratified with a few acres of peach-trees, then in full blossom; but the cleared land seldom extended into the forest more than a few hundred yards from the road, and occurred at distant intervals. From the Fort, which is surrounded with a cleared tract of half-a-mile square, the eye looks down on an unbroken mass of pine-woods, which lose themselves on every side in the horizon, about 20 miles distant.

About a mile from Fort Hawkins, Mr. Hodgson reached the Oakmulgee, the western branch of the Alatamaha, and the last river, in proceeding westward, which pours its waters into the Atlantic. Proceeding over a more undulating country, he reached, in the afternoon, the Indian Agency on the Flint River, ("about as wide as the Ribble near Preston,") which unites with the Chattahoochee to form the Appalachicola. Our Traveller had now entered what was then the territory of the Lower Creek Indians.* During the next 60 miles, only a single habitation occurred,—"Spaine's Inn," kept by a white man, "the partner

* When Mr. Hodgson travelled, (in 1820,) the Oakmulgee was the eastern boundary of the Indian territory. But, by a treaty made in 1821, the extensive tract between the Oakmulgee and Flint Rivers was ceded to the United States. In 1827, the Creeks were induced to quit the territory between the Flint and the Chattahoochee rivers, and to fall back westward, within the limits of the State of Alabama, of which the latter river is the south-eastern boundary.

of an Indian chief; the Creek Indians allowing no white person to settle in their nation, except as their partners, as husbands of Indian women, or in some way or other closely connected with themselves." Here, our Traveller was regaled with coffee, maize-bread, and bacon; "a plain, substantial fare which you seldom fail to obtain throughout the nation, sometimes improved by the addition of sugar, cream, and butter, and sometimes varied by the introduction of wild venison, or wild turkeys." Provided with a supply of Indian corn for himself and his servant, and a large bundle of the corn leaves for his horse, (the substitute here for hay,) our Traveller again set forward, prepared to pass the night in the woods. At the place chosen for their *bivouac*, near a stream of water, two or three parties of travellers had already lighted their fires, and were toasting their bacon, and boiling their coffee. Among them was an Alabama cotton-planter, who was bringing home his daughter from school at Milledgeville. They travelled in a little Jersey waggon, (familiarly called a dearborn, or carry-all,) camping out every night, and cooking their bacon and coffee three times a day. The "Tales of my Landlord" were the young lady's solace during this long journey of 300 miles. Some Indian wigwams not far off, and some acres of pine-woods on fire at a distance, together with the sombre colouring of the heavy forests which surrounded the encampment, and the deep blue of the sky above, rendered the scene altogether highly picturesque, but a character of solemnity predominated over every other expression.

The next day, after passing several creeks, our Traveller arrived at the extremity of a ridge, from which he looked down into a savannah, where was situated the Indian town of Co-se-ta, near the Chatta-

hoochee. "It appeared to consist of about a hundred houses, many of them elevated on poles from two to six feet high, built of unhewn logs, with roofs of bark, and with little patches of Indian corn before the doors. The women were hard at work, digging the ground, pounding Indian corn, or carrying heavy loads of water from the river; the men were either setting out to the woods with their guns, or lying before the doors; and the children were amusing themselves in little groupes. In the centre of the town was a large building with a conical roof, supported by a circular wall about three feet high: close to it was a quadrangular space, inclosed by four open buildings, with rows of benches rising one above another." The whole was appropriated, Mr. Hodgson was informed, to the great council of the town, who meet under shelter, or in the open air, according to the weather. "Near the spot was a high pole, like our May-poles, with a bird at the top, round which the Indians celebrate their green-corn dance. The township of Cose-ta was said to be able to muster 700 warriors; while the number belonging to the whole nation is not estimated at more than 3500. The Chattahoochee flows about a mile from the town.

Mr. Hodgson was ferried over the river by Indians, who sang in response. A few hours beyond, he reached Ouchee Bridge, over the Creek of the same name, so called from the Ouchees, an Indian tribe conquered by the Creeks. The next day, our Traveller arrived at Fort Bainbridge, situated on the ridge which separates the waters of the Chattahoochee from those of the Coosa and Tallapoosa; "two wells on opposite sides of the house, sending their streams into these different rivers." Here, our Traveller found

"a stand," in which the Big Warrior was sleeping partner, and a head-waiter from one of the principal inns at Washington, the efficient man.* There was a third partner, named Lewis, a white who had lived fifteen years in the heart of the Indian country, having married an Indian wife, and adopted the manners of the natives. So ardent a love of solitude had this man contracted by living in the woods, that he had lately removed his stand from the most profitable station, because there was a neighbour or two within four miles! From this person, Mr. Hodgson learned some interesting particulars respecting the Creek Indians.

The "Big Warrior" and the "Little Prince" were at this time the chief speakers of the nation, or the heads of the civil department. "Their dignity is not strictly hereditary, although some of the family usually succeed to it, if there be no particular objection.† The chief speakers are by no means necessarily the principal *orators*, but may employ a fluent chief to convey their sentiments. Their office is, to carry into effect the decisions of the Great Council of the nation, a deliberative body composed of chiefs from the different towns. They assemble at Tlekotska, about fifteen miles from Ouchee Creek. They cultivate eloquence with great attention, practising in private, or when hunting in small parties in the woods. The most popular and influential person in the nation, is Mack.

* Here, Mr. Hodgson was "a little surprised to find the son of the owner of one of the principal inns at Preston in Lancashire, projecting the introduction of a woollen-manufactory among the Creeks under the sanction of the natives."

† The sovereignty of Fezzan, Horneman tells us, was, in like manner, hereditary in the family, but not in the direct line, the eldest prince succeeding, whether son or nephew.

intosh, the head warrior, a half-breed, who is consulted on every occasion, and who in a great measure directs the affairs of his country.

"My host," continues Mr. Hodgson, "regretted, in the most feeling terms, the injury which the morals of the Indians have sustained from intercourse with the Whites; and especially from the introduction of whiskey, which has been their bane. He said, that female licentiousness before marriage is very general, and not attended with loss of character; but that conjugal infidelity is punished by whipping, shaving the head of the culprit, and sending her naked into perpetual exile; the husband being liable to suffer the same severities, if he connive at the return of his offending wife. The murderer is now executed by public authority, the law of private retaliation becoming gradually obsolete. Stealing is punished, for the first offence, by whipping; for the second, by the loss of the ears; for the third, by death: the punishment having no relation to the amount stolen. My host remembers when there was no law against stealing, the crime itself being almost unknown; when the Indians would go a hunting, or 'frolicking,' for one or two days, leaving their clothes on the bushes opposite their wigwams, in a populous neighbourhood, or their silver trinkets and ornaments hanging in their open huts. Confidence and generosity were then their characteristic virtues. A desire of gain, caught from the Whites, has chilled their liberality; and abused credulity has taught them suspicion and deceit. He considers them still attached to the English, although disappointed in the little assistance which they have derived from them in late wars. This, however, they attribute to the distance of the British, which renders them less valuable allies than they expected,

rather than to a treacherous violation of their promises. Whatever the first glow of British feeling may dictate, on hearing of their attachment, enlightened humanity will not repine, if, under their present circumstances, they are becoming daily more closely connected with the American Government, which has evinced an active solicitude for their civilization.

"Our recluse told us, that they have a general idea of a Supreme Being, but no religious days, nor any religious rites, unless, as he is disposed to believe, their green-corn dance be one. Before the corn turns yellow, the inhabitants of each town or district assemble, and a certain number enter the streets of what is more properly called the town, with the war-whoop and savage yells, firing their arrows in the air, and going several times round the pole. They then take emetics, and fast two days, dancing round the pole a great part of the night. All the fires in the township are then extinguished, and the hearths cleared, and new fires kindled by rubbing two sticks. After this, they parch some of the new corn, and feasting a little, disperse to their several homes. To the green-corn dance, I find, many Indians repair, who are settled in Alabama, on lands reserved for them by the United States, for services during the war. Many of the old chiefs are of opinion, that their ancestors intended this ceremony as a thank-offering to the Supreme Being, for the fruits of the earth, and for success in hunting or in war.

"The dress of the Indians is picturesque, and frequently very splendid, the scalping knife always forming a part of it, and the belts and the hems of their outer garments being often very highly ornamented. I understand that the tribes which inhabit the prairies beyond the Mississippi, use shields. The dress of the

young men under seventeen or eighteen, is like a loose dressing-gown, which they occasionally close around them; and that of the girls under fourteen or fifteen, might be still more easily described. The women generally are clumsy, dirty, and greasy, with long black hair, and a perpetual scowl upon their face. I saw only two handsome ones, one of whom, about twenty years of age, was very good looking. I believe, when they are dressed in their gala clothes, they look much better. They are very fond of ornaments, particularly of silver. I saw one of them in her common dress, selling poultry at the little inn, with four circular plates of silver hanging from her neck, the largest of which was at least two and a half inches in diameter, but very thin. I am told, they have frequently fifteen or twenty. I understand, that a man is allowed as many wives as he can support, and the usual number is from three to five. Mackintosh had three wives.

"Lewis informed me, that the Indians often set out on long journeys through the forests, without any other provision than a preparation of the flour of Indian corn, gathered while green, with honey. This mixture, dried and reduced to powder, they carry in a small bag, taking a little of it with water, once or twice in twenty-four hours; and it is said, that if they have the ill luck to kill no deer, or other animals, they will subsist on it for many weeks, without losing their strength: they call it *softke*.

"The more reflecting of the Creeks think much, but say little, of the change which is taking place in their condition. They see plainly that, with respect to their future destiny, it is a question of civilization or extinction; and a question, the decision of which cannot be long postponed. They are, therefore, be-

come very solicitous for the establishment of schools; and the introduction of the various arts, from which the whites derive their superiority. In some of these, they have already made considerable progress, many of them possessing several hundred head of cattle; and, if the warrior do not literally turn his tomahawk and scalping-knife into pruning-hooks, he is satisfied to regard them as mere ornaments of dress, till hostilities shall again call him into the field; and is ambitious to attain distinction in agricultural pursuits. I saw several neat and flourishing little farms, as I passed through the nation; but my pleasure was alloyed by observing, that the labour generally devolved either on the African negro, or the Indian wife. As few of the Creeks are rich enough to purchase many negroes, almost all the drudgery is performed by the women; and it is melancholy to meet them, as we continually did, with an infant hanging on their necks, bending under a heavy burden, and leading their husband's horse, while he walked before them, erect and graceful, apparently without a care. This servitude has an unfavourable effect on the appearance of the women; those above a certain age being generally bent and clumsy, with a scowl on their wrinkled foreheads, and an expression of countenance at once vacant and dejected." *

Soon after leaving Fort Bainbridge, Mr. Hodgson's route led past Caleebe and Cubahatchee swamps; and in the evening, he reached Lime Creek, at that time the boundary between the Creek territory and Alabama, having travelled about forty miles. Many large parties of emigrants from South Carolina and Georgia were passed in the course of the day's jour-

* Hodgson, vol. , pp. 128—136.

ney, and many gangs of slaves. "At the edges of the creeks and on the banks of rivers," he says, "we usually found a curious collection of *sans-soucis*, sulkies, carts, Jersey waggons, heavy waggons, little planters, Indians, Negroes, horses, mules, and oxen; the women and little children sitting down frequently for one, two, or three hours, sometimes for five or six, to work or play, while the men were engaged in the almost hopeless task of dragging or swimming their vehicles or baggage to the opposite side. Often, a light carriage, with a sallow planter and his lady, would bring up the rear of a long cavalcade, and indicate the removal of a family of some wealth, who, allured by the rich lands of Alabama, or the sugar-plantations of Mississippi, had bidden adieu to the scenes of their youth, and undertaken a long and painful pilgrimage through the wilderness." Point Comfort, a few miles beyond Lime Creek, is the name of a fine cotton-plantation, which, by its populous neighbourhood and richly cultivated fields, reminded our Traveller that he was no longer in the territory of a nation of hunters. The appearance of oaks in place of the pine-woods, indicated at the same time a material change in the soil; and the route soon opened on some of the beautiful prairies which are found in this part of the country. The road, however, which had hitherto been excellent for horses, became now as wretchedly bad, passing through long swamps of thick clay, overshadowed with beautiful trees and an entangling vegetation, through which the traveller must sometimes dismount to cut his way. These swamps are far more formidable than even the flooded creeks, over which the horses are swum by Indians, while the rider is either conveyed over in a boat, or, if the creek be narrow, crosses it on a large tree, so

dexterously felled as to fall across, and form a tolerable bridge. On the third day after leaving Fort Bainbridge, the road passed for some way through a most solitary pine-barren on a high ridge; soon after entering on which, our Traveller was surprised by a spectacle dreadfully sublime. "Thousands of large pines lay torn and shattered on each other, only one in four or five having been left standing, by a dreadful hurricane, the ravages of which extended nearly twelve miles. Some had been thrown down with such prodigious violence, that their thick trunks were broken into two or three pieces by the fall; others were splintered from the top nearly to the bottom; while others were lying on each other four or five feet thick, with their branches intertwined as if they had been torn up by the roots in a body. The most dreadful tossing of the ocean," adds Mr. Hodgson, "never impressed me so strongly with the idea of uncontrollable power, as this magnificent scene of devastation." From this ridge, the road again descended into dismal swamps, where the ears are stunned with frog-concerts, which give warning of the numerous alligators, and where the evanescent light of the beautiful fire-fly beguiles and tantalises the benighted traveller. At length, after riding 45 miles a day for the three last days, Mr. Hodgson, on the sixth day from Fort Bainbridge, reached Blakeley, on the bay of Mobile. The whole distance from Augusta was nearly 460 miles, which had occupied nearly thirteen days, exclusive of two during which he had rested.

Blakeley is described as a "real American town of yesterday." * It exhibited a fine range of ware-

* It was laid out in 1813. It stands on the Tensaw, or eastern outlet of Mobile river, 10 miles E.N.E. of Mobile.

houses; but the stumps of the trees which had been felled to make room for this young city, were still standing in the streets. Almost opposite, on the other side of the bay, is Mobile, "an old Spanish town, with mingled traces of the manners and language of the French and Spaniards." An old fort, called Fort Condé, was then standing, which was to be superseded by fortifications in a more formidable position. "These two towns are contending vehemently for the privilege of becoming that great emporium which must shortly spring up in the vicinity of this outlet for the produce of the young fertile State of Alabama. The surface drained by the rivers Tombigbee, Black Warrior, Alabama, Coosa, Tallapoosa, and Cahawba, all of which fall into Mobile Bay, exceeds twenty-six millions of acres; possessing a very great diversity of soil and climate, and enjoying commercial and agricultural advantages which are attracting towards them with unprecedented rapidity the wealth and enterprise of the older States." Mr. Hodgson was disappointed at not finding at either Blakeley or Mobile, a Protestant place of worship. At the latter place, there is a Roman Catholic church, built by the French or Spanish. "The aspect of society, as it presents itself to the superficial eye of a stranger, is such," Mr. Hodgson says, "as might be expected where public worship is totally disregarded. Profaneness, licentiousness, and ferocity seemed to be characteristic of the place. You continually hear the lash upon the backs of the negro servants, with language which would shock you even if applied to brutes; and the easy and intelligent expression which I had observed in the countenances of many of the slaves in Carolina and Georgia, had here given place to the appearance of abject timidity or idiotic vacancy."

The population of Mobile, nine months before, had amounted to 1300. Soon after the appearance of the fever in September 1819, it was reduced by migrations to about 500, of whom 274 died. In the autumn of 1827, the town was almost entirely destroyed by a fire. Glad to escape from this wretched place, Mr. Hodgson here embarked on board of a small schooner for New Orleans.*

Captain Basil Hall travelled from Savannah to Mobile by a more circuitous route. Having hired a carriage and pair, he proceeded southward to Darien, a neat little village on the left bank of the gigantic Alatamaha; traversing swamps "where millions of fevers and agues seemed to be waiting to devour any one who should come near." Darien is twelve miles from the bar at the mouth of the river, and is expected to become the emporium for the country on the Alatamaha and its branches, which drain the interior of Georgia. This Traveller's object was, to visit one of the "sea island" cotton-plantations, in which the finest kind is raised. He descended the stream, in a canoe hollowed out of a cypress, to St. Simon's Island, rowed by five negroes, whose wild accompaniment to their oars was not unlike that of the Canadian *voyageurs*, but still more nearly resembled that of the Bunder-boatmen at Bombay. Their utmost exertions were required, to avoid being entangled in "a labyrinth of low, marshy, alluvial islands, nearly flush with the water, covered with long reeds, and extending for many leagues off to sea, abreast of the multitudinous mouths of the great Alatamaha;" a description which recals the Sunderbunds of Bengal. The flood-tide of the Atlantic was an over-match for

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 106—154.

the river, though swollen by the rains to nearly its utmost height, or what is called "a high fresh." After visiting the cotton-plantations, (of which he gives a minute description,) he returned towards the north, as far as the village of Riceborough; and then, bending westward, "fairly plunged into the forest," where the course was pointed out solely by "blazes or slices" cut as guiding marks on the sides of the trees. On the third day, (not reckoning a day's halt at a solitary inn,) our Traveller crossed, at Dublin, the dirty stream of the Oconee; and early on the fifth, reached the town of Macon on the Oakmulgee.

This town, founded in 1823, answered, in its general appearance, to such places as Utica and Syracuse in the North. "It had not, it is true," says our Traveller, "the vehement bustle of Rochester; but it resembled that singular village not a little in its juvenile character, and might have been taken for one of its suburbs. The woods were still growing in some of the streets, and the stumps were not yet grubbed up in others. The houses looked as if they had been put up the day before, so that you smelt the saw-mill every where. The signs and sign-posts were newly painted; the goods exposed before the doors, were piled up, as if just lifted out of the waggons; the bars at the numberless grocery-stores, alias grog-shops, were glittering with new bottles and glasses, barrels of Hollands, whiskey, and rum. The inhabitants were unacquainted with one another's residence; and I had to go to eight or ten houses in quest of one gentleman for whom I had a letter. As yet, the streets had no names, but they were laid out with perfect regularity, as I could discover by stakes here and there at the corners, and by rows of the

Pride-of-India-trees planted along both sides, in a sort of mockery, as it seemed, of the grim old forest, which was frowning all round on these pigmy works of man.

"At its first establishment, it was thought the navigation of the river Oakmulgee, on which it stands, might be so much improved, that a communication could be opened with the sea-coast of Georgia, and, consequently, that a great portion of the produce of the upper part of that State would find its way to Macon as a *depôt*. But these expectations not being realized, the rage for settling there had given place to newer fashions; other situations had been preferred; and this city, which, in the opinion of its founders, was to have been one of the greatest in all the South, it was now feared would soon vanish altogether.

"In the course of the day's journey, we passed through a place called Dublin, on the banks of the Oconee river. It also had already felt the effect of these withering causes. And we saw several others, the mushroom growth of rapid and unthinking speculation. The inhabitants of some of these juvenile but decaying towns, explained to me, that much of the evil which I saw, arose from the unfortunate description of their labouring population. According to all accounts, indeed, the energies of every country where slavery is found, are sadly cramped. The Whites work, as they expressed it to me, with a clog round their feet, like convicts!"*

The next part of the route was the same as Mr. Hodgson's, by way of the "Old Agency," on the Flint river, and the Creek Agency, on the Chatta-

* Basil Hall, vol. iii. pp. 277, 8. At Macon, our Traveller was fortunate enough to find out a coach-maker, an Englishman, who could repair the broken perch of his carriage.

Hoochee. From the latter station, Captain Basil Hall made an excursion to a very curious place,—the site chosen and marked out by the State Government of Georgia, for the projected city of Columbus.

"The situation chosen for this purpose, was a spot on the left bank of the Chatahoochie, which is the boundary line between the States of Georgia and Alabama. The new city was to commence at the lower end of a long series of falls, or, more properly speaking, rapids, over which this great river dashes for some miles in a very picturesque manner. The perpendicular fall being about 200 feet, an immense power for turning mills is placed at the disposal of the inhabitants of the future city, within the limits of which the whole of this valuable portion of the river has been included. All the way down to the Gulf of Mexico, also, the navigation of the Chatahoochie is unimpeded, so that several steam-boats had already made their way up to the spot I am speaking of.

"By a law of the State of Georgia, it was arranged, that sixty days should elapse, after this portion of land reserved for the city was completely surveyed, before any of the building-lots could be sold. These lots were to consist of half an acre each, and the whole five miles square was to be distinctly marked out in streets, on paper; and being numbered and lettered accordingly, they were to be advertised for sale over the whole Union. These sixty days were considered sufficient to enable adventurers, settlers, land-speculators, merchants, and all others so disposed, to come to the spot preparatory to the auction.

"The project took little wildfire; and the advantage of the new city being loudly proclaimed over the land, people flocked from all quarters to see and judge of it for themselves. We arrived, fortunately, just in

the nick of time to see the curious phenomenon of an embryo town, a city as yet without a name, or any existence in law or fact, but crowded with inhabitants, ready to commence their municipal duties at the tap of an auctioneer's hammer.

"A gentleman, one of the assembled inhabitants, had been kind enough to accompany us from the Agency, to shew off the Lions of this singular place. The first thing to which he called our attention, was a long line cut through the coppice-wood of oaks. This, our guide begged us to observe, was to be the principal street; and the brushwood having been cut away, so as to leave a lane four feet wide, with small stakes driven in at intervals, we could walk along it easily enough. On reaching the middle point, our friend, looking round him, exclaimed, in raptures at the prospect of the future greatness of Columbus: 'Here you are in the centre of the city!' In a very short time, he assured us, it would be no longer a mere path, but a street sixty yards wide, and one league in length! By keeping a bright look-out as we proceeded, we could detect other similar cuts into the forest, branching off at right angles to this main avenue, as it was to be called. As yet, however, these cross streets were only indicated by a few stakes driven in by the surveyors.

"After threading our way for some time among the trees, we came in sight, here and there, of huts made partly of planks, partly of bark, and at last reached the principal cluster of houses, very few of which were above two or three weeks old. These buildings were of all sizes, from a six-feet box or cube, to a house with half-a-dozen windows in front. There were three hotels, the sign belonging to one of which, I could observe, was nailed to a tree still growing un-

touched, in the middle of the street. Another had glazed windows, but the panes of glass were fixed in their places, merely for the time, by a little piece of putty at each corner. Every thing indicated hurry. The direction and width alone of the future streets were adhered to, but no other description of regularity could be discovered. As none of the city lots were yet sold, of course no one was sure that the spot upon which he had pitched his house would eventually become his own. Every person, it seemed, was at liberty to build where he could find room, it being understood, that forty days after the sale would be allowed him, to remove his property from the ground on which it stood, should he not himself become its purchaser. In consequence of this understanding, many of the houses were built on trucks, (a sort of low, strong wheels, such as cannon are supported by,) for the avowed purpose of being hurled away when the land should be sold. At least sixty frames of houses were pointed out to me, lying in piles on the ground, and got up by the carpenters on speculation, ready to answer the call of future purchasers. At some parts of this strange scene, the forest, which hereabouts consists of a mixture of pines and oaks, was growing as densely as ever; and even in the most cleared streets, some trees were left standing, I do not well know why. As yet, there had been no time to remove the stumps of the felled trees, and many that had been felled, were left in their places; so that it was occasionally no easy matter to get along. Anvils were heard ringing away merrily at every corner; while saws, axes, and hammers were seen flashing among the woods all round. Stage-coaches, travelling waggons, carts, gigs, the whole family of wheeled vehicles, innumerable, were there. Grocery-stores

and bakeries were scattered about in great plenty; and over several doors was written, 'Attorney at Law.'

"One of the commissioners from the State of Georgia, who had the management of this extraordinary experiment in colonization, assured me, there were upwards of nine hundred inhabitants already collected together, though it was expected that four months must still elapse before the sale could take place, or the city have any legal existence! Many of these people, being without houses, or even sheds, were encamped in the forest. Some lived in waggons, and many persons strolled about, to pick up quarters and employment where they best could. As all sorts of artificers were in great demand, it was a fine harvest for carpenters and blacksmiths. I was told that, upon a moderate computation, there would probably be assembled, on the day of sale, between three and four thousand people, ready to inhabit the new city. I can well believe this, for, during the short period we were there, many new comers dropped in, from different directions, out of the forest, like birds of prey, attracted by the scent of some glorious quarry.

"It must have been a curious sight, after the auction, to witness the scatter which took place, when the parties came to claim each his own property,—to demolish or remove the old, and raise the new dwellings; —to say nothing of the entangled machinery of police and other municipal arrangements,—the mayor and aldermen to get up,—the town taxes to levy,—the school, the jail, the court-house, the church, all to be erected. In other places, these things rise up by degrees; but here, they must have taken their date all at once, and all in a body!

"I could form no idea, from what I saw or heard

on the spot, how this strangely concocted town would get on; nor have I ever since been able to learn one syllable respecting its progress."*

From the Creek Agency, Captain B. Hall proceeded to Montgomery, one of the principal towns in Alabama, situated on the left bank of the great river which gives its name to the State. It is distant from Mobile, in a direct line, not more than 150 miles N. E.; but the distance by water is increased by the windings of the stream, to between three and four hundred miles. The river runs through an alluvial country, in a deep trench, with perpendicular banks rising to the height of from 60 to 80 feet. Captain B. Hall here embarked for the Gulf of Mexico, in a steam-boat, which descended the stream at the rate of fifteen miles an hour. The river having subsided from the recent floods, the water was gushing out from millions of springs, and pouring in curious cascades into the main stream. During a recent "high fresh," the river, he was told, had risen 64 perpendicular feet.

On the voyage to Mobile, the steamer touched at about twenty different places, to take in bales of cotton. Every flaw of wind from the shore, wafted the smell of that useful plant; at every dock or wharf were seen huge pyramids of bales; the decks were soon choked up with the article; and day and night, the almost unvarying topic with the captain, pilot, crew, and passengers, was cotton, cotton. Among the towns on the banks of the Alabama, Cahawba, at the mouth of the river of that name, was *lately* the seat of government. Below this, is a place called Canton. Clairborne (fort and village) stands at the head of

* B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 281—287.

schooner navigation, sixty miles above the mouth of the Tombekbee.* On the fourth day, they reached Mobile; whence, after a detention of six days, the steamer transported our Traveller to New Orleans. Instead of going round by the mouth of the Mississippi, "we coasted along," says Captain B. Hall, "past numerous small, sandy islands, over shallow banks of mud, and through several immense basins, (such as Lake Borgne and Lake Pontchartrain,) half fresh, half salt, and filled with bars, spits, keys, and all the family of shoals, so tormenting to the navigator, but which he is sure to meet with abreast of such mighty streams as the Ganges or the Mississippi, whose Deltas are silently pushing themselves into the sea, and raising the bottom to the surface. We landed at a place called the Piquets, on the northern side of the narrow strip of alluvial country which separates the Mississippi from Lake Pontchartrain; about six or seven miles from New Orleans. This short distance, we passed over on a road skirting a sluggish creek or *bayou*, (the name given to a sort of natural canal joining the lakes and rivers all over the Delta,) and running in the midst of a swamp, overgrown with cypress and other thirsty trees, rising out of a thick, rank underwood."

For a description of the city itself, we shall avail ourselves of the distinct and lively account furnished by the Author of the very entertaining little volume, entitled "The Americans as they are."†

* This is the western branch of the Mobile river, as the Alabama is called below this junction.

† An injudicious title, as the volume describes only a Tour through the Valley of the Mississippi. The volume is commended

NEW ORLEANS.

"NEW Orleans, the *wet grave*,* where the hopes of thousands are buried,—for eighty years the wretched asylum for the outcasts of France and Spain, who could not venture a hundred paces beyond its gates, without utterly sinking to the breast in mud, or being attacked by alligators,—has become, in the space of twenty-three years, one of the most beautiful cities of the Union, inhabited by 40,000 persons, who trade with half the world. The view" (approaching the city from the interior) "is splendid beyond description, when you pass down the stream, which is here a mile broad, rolling its immense volume of waters in a bed about 200 feet deep,† and, as if conscious of its strength, appearing to look quietly on the bustle of the habitations of man. Both its banks are lined with charming sugar-plantations, from the midst of which rises the airy mansion of the wealthy planter, surrounded with orange, banana, lime, and fig trees, the growth of a climate approaching to the torrid zone. In the rear, you discover the cabins of the negroes and the sugar-houses, and just at the entrance of the port, groupes of smaller houses, as if erected for the purpose of concealing the prospect of the town. As soon as the steam-boats pass these

by the North American Reviewers, as containing the best view that had appeared, of "the western people," and of the States of Louisiana and Mississippi.

* "Water is found two feet below the surface. Those who cannot afford to procure a vault for their dead, are literally compelled to deposit them in the water."

† This is a mistake. At New Orleans, its greatest depth at high water, is 168 feet. Higher up, it is only 130 feet, and at some places, not 50 feet in depth.

outposts, New Orleans, in the form of a half-moon, appears in all its splendour. The river, having run for four or five miles in a southern direction, here suddenly takes an eastern course, which it pursues for two miles, thus forming a semi-circular bend. A single glance exhibits to view the harbour, the vessels at anchor, and the city, situated as it were at the feet of the passenger. The first object that presents itself, is the dirty and uncouth backwoods flat boat. Hams, ears of corn, apples, whisky-barrels, are strewed upon it, or are fixed to poles, to direct the attention of the buyers. Close by, are the rather more decent keel-boats, with cotton, furs, whisky, flour. Next, the elegant steam-boat, which, by its hissing and repeated sounds, announces either its arrival or departure; sending forth immense columns of black smoke, that form into long clouds above the city. Further on are the smaller merchant vessels, the sloops and schooners from the Havannah, Vera Cruz, Tampico; then the brigs; and lastly, the elegant ships appearing like a forest of masts.*

* "What struck me most," says Captain B. Hall, speaking of the first view of the Mississippi at New Orleans, "was the surface being six or seven feet higher than the level of the streets, and of all the adjacent country. The swollen river looked so like a bowl filled up to the brim, that it seemed as if the smallest shake, or the least addition, would send it over the edge, and thus submerge the city." In fact, a few years ago, he was told, owing to a *crevasse* in the *Levée* just above the city, the greater part was laid under water to the depth of several feet for some months. The width of the river at New Orleans, at low water, Captain B. Hall says, is 746 yards; at high water, 852½ yards; still less than half a mile. From careful triangular measurements, Mr. Darby has ascertained, that the medial width of the river, below its confluence with the Missouri, is short of 880 yards, or half a mile. These measurements differ widely from those given, on received authority, at page 52, of our first volume; but they appear to rest on more accurate observation.

"The city of New Orleans occupies an oblong area, extending 3960 feet along the eastern bank of the Mississippi, embracing six squares, 319 feet in length, and of equal breadth. Above and below this parallelogram are the suburbs. The seven streets which run parallel with the river, are intersected at right angles by twelve running from the banks of the Mississippi. The city, with the exception of the Levée and Rampart-street, is paved; an improvement which occasions great expense to the corporation, as the stones are imported: flags, however, are not wanting, even in the most distant suburbs. The ground on which New Orleans is built, is a plain descending about seven feet from the banks of the river, towards the swamps. It is secured by the Levée, which would afford very little resistance four hundred miles higher up; but here, where numerous bayous and natural channels have carried off part of the waters to the Gulf of Mexico, it answers every purpose. About the city, the breadth of this plain is half a mile, and above it, three quarters of a mile, terminating, in the back ground, in impenetrable swamps. The city and suburbs are lighted with reflecting lamps, suspended in the middle of the streets. Between the pavement and the road, gutters are made for the purpose of carrying off the filth into the swamps, of refreshing the air with the waters of the Mississippi, with which these gutters communicate, and of allaying the dust during the hot season.

"There are now about six thousand buildings, large and small, in New Orleans. In the three principal streets, and the greater part of the upper suburb, the houses are throughout of brick: some are plastered over, to preserve them from the influence of the

sultry climate. Though building materials of every kind are imported, and consequently very dear, yet, the houses are rapidly changing from the uncouth Spanish style to more elegant forms. The new houses are mostly three stories high, with balconies, and a summer-room with blinds. In the lower suburbs, frame-houses, with Spanish roofs, are still prevalent. Two-thirds of the private buildings may at present be said to rival those of northern cities, of an equal population. The public edifices, however, are far inferior to those of the former, both in style and execution. The most prominent is the cathedral, in the middle of the town, separated from the bank of the Mississippi, by the parade-ground. It is of Spanish architecture, with a façade of seventy feet, and a depth of a hundred and twenty; having on each side a steeple, and a small cupola in the centre, which gives an air of dignity to a heavy and ill-proportioned structure. All illusion, however, is dispelled on entering the church. The Catholics had the strange notion of painting the interior, taking for this purpose the most glaring colours that can be found,—green and purple. The church is painted over in fresco with these colours. The interior is not overloaded with decorations, as Catholic churches generally are. The high altar and two side ones, are, with an organ, its only ornaments. Two tombs contain the remains of Baron Carondolet and M. Marigny.

"On one side of the cathedral is the city-hall, (erected in 1795,) presenting a façade of 108 feet; and on the other, the Presbytire, 114 feet in front, built in 1813. This is the seat of the Supreme District Court, and of the Criminal Court of New Orleans. These two edifices, and the cathedral be-

tween them, form together a dignified whole. The government-house, at the corner of Toulouse-street and Levée-street, is an old and decaying edifice, where the Legislature of the State holds its meetings. In point of situation (among grog-shops), and of style, it may be considered as the poorest State-house in the Union.

"The Protestants have three churches. The Episcopalian is an octagon edifice, with a cupola in bad taste. The Presbyterian church, in the suburb of St. Mary, is a simple, but chaste building. The congregation being unwilling to defray the cost of its erection, (55,000 dollars,) it was sold by the Sheriff, and is now the property of Mr. Levy, an Israelite, who lets it out to the congregation for 1500 dollars a year. The Methodist church is a frame-building, erected in 1826.*

"There are now four banks in New Orleans, and five insurance-offices. There are also no fewer than six masonic lodges, and two theatres, a French and an American one. Close to the latter are the ball-rooms, where are given the only masked balls in the United States.† A reading-room and circulating

* "There is not a place in the Union," remarks the Writer, "in which religion is so little attended to as New Orleans. For a population of 40,000, it has only four churches." The Roman Catholics have, however, a chapel attached to the Nunnery, now the residence of their bishop, which makes a fifth.

† The American theatre is open five months, and the French eight months of the year. The former is at present resorted to only by the lower classes,—"boatmen, Kentuckians, Mississippi traders, and back-woodsmen." The pieces are execrably performed. The curtain consists of two sail-cloths; and the horrible smell of whisky and tobacco is sufficient to deter better company from attending. Towards the close of December, the carnival commences;—balls, masquerades, and routs are then the order of the

library, you would seek in vain in New Orleans..... A steam saw-mill in the upper suburb, with a few iron-foundries, are the only manufactories, every thing being imported from the north.....No fewer than 1500 keel and flat boats, besides nearly a hundred steam-vessels, are employed in the trade with this city. The number of vessels that clear out annually, is upwards of 1000. The wealth accruing to the city from this commerce, is out of proportion to the number of inhabitants. There are many families who, in the course of a few years, have accumulated a property yielding an income of 50,000 dollars; and 25,000 is the usual income of respectable planters. No other place offers such chances for making a fortune in so easy a way. This accounts for the eagerness with which thousands repair to New Orleans, in spite of the yellow fever, which makes room again for thousands in rapid succession.

"When the United States took possession of New Orleans (in 1803), the city contained 1000 houses and 8000 inhabitants. In the year 1820, the population amounted to 27,000; in 1821, to 29,000; in 1822, to 32,000; and in 1826, to nearly 40,000; *viz.*

	Males.	*Females.*	*Total.*
Whites	14,500	7,500	22,000
Free Coloured ..	3,690	800	4,490
Slaves	5,500	6,300	11,800
Foreigners			1,300
			39,590*

day; but, according to this Writer, nothing can be more tiresome and dull than a masqued ball at New Orleans, or more insipid than the round of amusements.

* In Carey and Lea, the number of free coloured persons in 1820, is stated to have been 6237, and of slaves, 7355. If this be correct, the decrease of the former class requires explanation; but in the

"As New Orleans, notwithstanding its being 109 miles from the sea, is considered as a sea-port, consuls from every nation having commercial intercourse with it, reside there;—from England, Russia, Prussia, Denmark, Sweden, Hamburgh, the Netherlands, France, Spain, Portugal, Sardinia, and the South American Republics." *

The population of this city is, of course, of the most motley description, and of every complexion, from the most beautiful white and red, through all the shades of brown and yellow, to jet black. Americans from every State, from Maine to Georgia, form about three-eighths of the population of the city and State; and among them are some of the wealthiest families in Louisiana. The French are still numerous. They include many very respectable merchants, lawyers, and physicians; but the greater part are adventurers, who fill up the humbler professions of dancing-master, musician, hair-dresser and the like. In point of religion and morals, they are characterized as "a most contemptible set." The watchmen and lamplighters are Germans,—the unhappy remnant of a numerous body of emigrants, who arrived from Europe about sixteen years ago, destitute of the smallest resources, and who, having lost more than half of their comrades during the passage, were sold as "white slaves, or, as they are called, redemptioners," the moment they landed. Hundreds of these people fell victims to the yellow fever between 1814 and 1822; and their degrading habits of inebriety tend rapidly to thin their numbers. The fishermen are chiefly Spaniards. The free coloured people consist

volume cited in the text, they are rated at only 2500 male and 400 female, at that time.

* Americans as they are, pp. 144—162.

partly of emancipated slaves, but chiefly of Mulattoes, the offspring of the dissolute French Creoles. The mayor of the city is a Creole, or white native. His police regulations are warmly eulogised. "New Orleans, which, twenty years ago, was the lurking hole of every assassin, is now, in point of security, not inferior to any other city."

Heterogeneous as the population is, in manners, language, and principles, they all agree in one point,—the pursuit of money. Americans, English, French, Germans, Spaniards, all come hither to make money, and to stay only as long as money is to be made. The Yankee commission-merchants, who reside here during the winter, retire to the north in the month of May. About half the inhabitants only, it is supposed, are regularly settled here.* The better American families, as soon as they have amassed a fortune answering to their expectations, prefer removing to the north. These circumstances will explain why New Orleans, one of the wealthiest cities in the Union, is so far behind every other in its public establishments. The only literary institution in the State was, till very lately, the college of New Orleans, which is to be revived on a larger scale. Free schools have also been established in the city within the past few years. The female Creoles are educated by the Nuns; there are also some private schools; but the Americans generally send their daughters for education to the north. New Orleans has eight newspapers, three of which are published in French and English, four in English only, and one in Spanish.

During six months of the year, according to this

* "In summer, every one retires to the north, or across the lake, only such persons remaining as are compelled from circumstances to do so."

Writer, Louisiana affords a delightful residence. In June, the heats become oppressive; not a breath of air is to be felt; the musquitoes appear in millions; and nothing can be more disagreeable than their buzzing sound and their painful sting,—except that of the millepedes, which is still more painful. In July, the heat increases. August, September, and October are dangerous months in New Orleans. "A deep silence reigns during this season in the city; most of the stores are shut up; no one is to be seen in the streets during the day, except negroes and people of colour; no carriage, except the funeral hearse. At the approach of evening, the inhabitants pour forth to enjoy the air upon the *Levée*." The yellow-fever, however, has not made its appearance for several years; and it is hoped, that when the pestilential swamps behind the city are drained, the city will become not less healthy than other places in the same latitude.* In winter, the climate is extremely variable. In 1823, a severe frost killed nearly all the orange-trees. Some winters, the thermometer has fallen to 16° or 15°, and the streets have been repeatedly covered with snow, while the ponds and lagoons have been frozen. Other winters have been as remarkable for their warmth; and no mean estimate can give a correct idea of the uncertain and varying temperature.

Captain Basil Hall descended the Mississippi to the

* "The years 1811, 1814, and 1823 were the most terrible for New Orleans. From 60 to 80 persons were buried every day; whole streets in the upper suburb, inhabited chiefly by Americans and Germans, were cleared of their inhabitants; and New Orleans was literally one vast cemetery." Yet, it is stated, that the temperature of the air seldom exceeds 100°, while it has risen much higher at Boston and New York; but the oppressive exhalations from the adjacent swamps and marshes, load the air, so that it is difficult to draw a breath.

Balize,* the principal station of the pilots, at the mouth of the river. From this wretched place, planted in the midst of a boundless swamp, no firm land is in sight, nor is there any within 50 or 60 miles of it. There are about twenty buildings there, six of them dwelling-houses, between which the intercourse is carried on exclusively by means of rude log causeys or bridges laid over the slime and water. It is impossible to walk ten yards in any direction without sinking up to the neck in a mud-hole or quicksand; so that, for all the purposes of locomotion, the inhabitants might as well be at sea. In the middle of this half-drowned village, there stands "a rickety look-out house," from the top of which an extensive view is commanded, indescribably dreary, yet not without interest. "We could discover," says this Traveller, "several of the passes (or outlets),† and great numbers of *bayous* or natural canals, creeping among the marshes slowly to the sea, which occupied about one third of the horizon in the south. On the east and west, the marshes extended as far as the eye could reach, bristling with roots, trunks, and branches of trees. In the spring, when the freshes or floods come down, they bring along with them millions of trunks of trees, technically called logs (owing to the falling in of the banks of the river). In February and the beginning of March, the quantity of these logs is so great, that

* From the Spanish *Valiza*, a beacon.

† "There are four principal outlets, or passes, as they are called, to the Mississippi, at the end of the long, straggling, tongue-shaped promontory into which the new land forms itself at that place. It would be a better simile, to compare this part of the Delta to an arm, of which the hand at the end, with the fingers opened as wide as possible, might represent the different outlets. At present, the S.W. pass is the favourite, from being the deepest, It generally carries 15 feet water upon the bar."

not only the river itself, but the sea, for several miles off, is completely coated over with them, and it requires some skill in the pilot to get through. The whole ground (if the loose, muddy soil can be so called) appeared to be formed of layers of these logs, matted together into a net-work, or rather a gigantic raft of rough timbers, many yards, and perhaps fathoms, in depth, over hundreds of square leagues. These enormous rafts, which settle on the mud as the waters subside, are cemented together by fresh deposites. In a short time, a rank sort of cane or reed springs up, which helps to keep them together. This is called a cane-brake; a wild, hopeless-looking, impassable marsh. These reeds, by retarding the flow of the river, collect the mud of the next season, and, by the process of their own decay, lend their share to form the alluvial soil of the Delta. Fresh logs, and fresh mud, and new crops of cane, go on forming for a certain course of years. At length, a stunted shrub takes root, and grows up in these slushy territories, the empire of the alligators, who delight to flounder about in the creeks or *bayous* which cut across the Delta in every direction. When these trees grow up, they collect more soil about them, and land somewhat firmer is concocted, as we advance to the region of swamps from that of marshes. The intruder, man, now begins his operations, by banking out the stream, and taking the further management of the soil into his own hands. The fertility of such spots exceeds that of any other part of the world. Of course, all the sea-shores or skirts of the Delta are uninhabited, and must for a long time continue in the state of useless marshes, till fresh deposites raise the level a few feet more. The lowest sugar-plantation on the Mississippi that I saw, was 40 miles below New Orleans,

or about 60 miles from the sea. And I should imagine, that a belt of uninhabitable marsh from 50 to 100 miles in width, fringes the edge of the whole of that part of the coast." *

In his subsequent voyage up the Mississippi, when between 50 and 60 miles above New Orleans, this Traveller had the satisfaction of witnessing one of those formidable breaches in the *Levée* or embankment, which are called crevasses.† "The river was tumbling through the opening, with a head or fall of four or five feet, in a tumultuous manner, resembling one of the St. Lawrence rapids. This boiling, or rather surf-like appearance—for it rose and fell in snow-white ridges or short waves—did not spread itself far to the right or left, (which at first surprised me,) but gushed nearly at right angles to the parent river, straight-forward, across the cultivated fields, into the forest growing in the boundless morass lying beyond the cleared strip of land. There was something peculiarly striking in this casual stream,—a mere drop from the great Mississippi, which in many other countries might almost have claimed the name of a river,—leaping, and writhing, and foaming along, with a sound exactly like that of breakers on a reef, through the middle of a village, among trees, over the tops of sugar-plantations, and at last losing itself in a great cypress swamp.

"The Levée or embankment was completely carried away at this place for a distance of 100, or, perhaps, 150 yards. I could not help being surprised,

* Basil Hall, vol. iii. p. 337—340.

† Many crevasses are believed to have been caused by the holes of water-rats; for the soil is so loose, that if the water once gets vent, so as to dribble through the smallest pipe, it is impossible to say of what magnitude the opening may become before morning.

indeed, that any portion of these frail barriers ever stood at all, for they seemed generally not more than two or three feet wide at top, and ten or twelve at the base; and altogether so slender in appearance, that I expected every minute to see fresh crevasses formed. During the greater part of that day, the surface of the water along which we were moving, could not be less than six or eight feet above the level of the ground on both sides. The district of country which lies adjacent to the Mississippi, in the lower parts of Louisiana, is every where thickly peopled by sugar-planters, whose showy houses, gay piazzas, trig gardens, and numerous slave-villages, all clean and neat, gave an exceedingly thriving air to the river scenery."*

Leaving this Traveller to pursue his voyage to Louisville on the Ohio, we must now land with Mr. Hodgson at Natchez, 320 miles above New Orleans,† which the steam-boats accomplish within four days.

FROM NATCHEZ, THROUGH THE INDIAN TERRITORY, TO RICHMOND.

NATCHEZ, though not the seat of Government, is the largest town and principal emporium of the State of Mississippi. It is built chiefly on a bluff 250 feet above the water, in the midst of a rich and well-cultivated tract of country. Low Natchez is the name given to a suburb on the bank of the river,—"a perfect Wapping," (to say the best of it,) crowded with Kentucky boats, and a heterogeneous rabble of backwoodsmen. Natchez itself is as regularly built as the broken ground would admit; and some of the dwelling-houses, surrounded with piazzas, exhibit throughout the appearance of wealth. They are, however, chiefly of wood. The public buildings are, a court-

* Basil Hall, vol. iii. pp. 351, 2. † It is only 156 miles by land.

house, three churches, two banks, an academy, and a library and reading-room, which are well supported. There are three newspaper-offices, from one of which issues a literary journal. The houses amounted, in 1826, to about 600, and the inhabitants to 3,540; they are chiefly merchants, lawyers, and physicians of Anglo-American extraction, with ten or twelve German families. This town had been considered as a healthier spot than New Orleans until within a few years; but it has lately been repeatedly visited by the yellow fever, while New Orleans has escaped.* The surrounding country is an extensive plain, 200 feet above the level of the Mississippi, stretching 130 miles from N. to S., and about 40 miles to the eastward. Although a very fertile tract, it is inferior to the Mississippi bottom lands.

From Natchez, Mr. Hodgson started afresh on horseback, for Virginia, (a journey of some 1200 miles,) and on the second day, entered the territory of the Choctaw nation. His route now lay along what is called the Natchez or Kentucky Trace; the road by which the Kentuckians and Tennessians return home from Natchez through the wilderness, when they have broken up the arks in which they conveyed the produce of the western country down the Mississippi. A few solitary houses or Indian cabins, at distant intervals, where coffee and Indian corn may perchance be obtained, are the only habitations to be met with on this track; but our Traveller made no difficulty of camping out. In one place where he halted, he witnessed the ceremony of wailing for the dead, as practised by the Choctaws.

* Americans as they are, pp. 121—125. The yellow fever and the country fever appear to be confounded by this Writer, in common with many others.

"As soon as it appeared to be twelve o'clock by the sun, three of the Indian women covered themselves with blankets, and approached a little spot in the garden, enclosed by six upright poles, on the highest of which were suspended several chaplets of vine-leaves and tendrils; here, they either sat or kneeled (the blankets preventing our seeing which) for about twenty minutes, uttering a low, monotonous wailing. This mournful ceremony they repeat, at sunrise, noon, and sunset, for ninety days, or three moons, as the Egyptians mourned for Jacob threescore and ten days. I have since been informed, by a very intelligent Indian, that the period of mourning is sometimes extended to four or five moons, if the individual be deeply regretted or of eminent rank; and that it is occasionally determined by the time occupied in killing the deer and other animals necessary for the great feast which is often given at the pulling up of the poles.

"At the celebrated ceremony of the 'pole-pulling,' the family connexions assemble from a great distance; and, when they are particular in observing the ancient customs, they spend two or three days and nights in solemn preparation and previous rites. They then all endeavour to take hold of some part of the poles, which they pluck up and throw behind them without looking, moving backward towards the east. They then feast together, and disperse to their several homes. It was impossible to hear this simple recital without thinking of the account in Genesis l. 1—14.

"Till within ten or fifteen years, the Choctaws generally killed the favourite horses or dogs of the deceased, and buried them, with his gun and hatchet, in his grave. They still sometimes bury the gun; but it is too frequently stolen; and they now satisfy

themselves with believing that the spirits of the horses and dogs will rejoin that of their master at their death. The settlement of White people among them, and occasional intermarriages, have undermined many of their customs." *

A party of about two hundred Indians were afterwards fallen in with, assembled for the celebration of a great ball-play. "The men were elegantly dressed in cotton dresses of white, red, or blue, with belts handsomely embroidered, and mocassins of brown deerskins. Several of them had circular plates of silver, or silver crescents hanging from their necks, while others had similar ornaments round their arms, and others, silver pendents attached to the cartilage of the nose. Some of them had cotton turbans, with white feathers in front, and others, black plumes nodding behind. The women, too, were in their gala dress; but, while that of the men was so original and picturesque, that of the women differed little from the Sunday clothes of our female peasants. Gowns of printed calico formed the common dress; and some had, in addition, a loose red cloak, which they folded round them with an elegant negligence. Their long, black hair, tied up behind, shone as brightly as if it had had the advantage of the highly vaunted Macassar oil. They were overloaded with necklaces and silver ornaments; and, with the exception of some young women, who were very handsome, they were coarse and ill-formed, exhibiting little of the symmetry of the compact, muscular figures of the men."

The grand ball-play which this Traveller witnessed, appears to have been of identically the same character, as well as the preparatory ceremonies, with that of

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 215—217.

which Captain Basil Hall was a spectator in the Creek territory, and the description of which we have reserved for this place.

"It appears," says the latter Traveller, "that the inhabitants of one Indian village always play against those of another; and as these games are not mere matters of sport, but the chief object of their lives, a great deal of ceremony and many previous arrangements are necessary.

"The moon rose when we were about half way to the scene where the Indians were assembled. The night was bright and frosty, and so perfectly still, that we could hear the shrill cries of the savages, and the thumpings of their barbarous music, at the distance of more than a mile. The pine-barren, seen by moonlight, had a very striking appearance; and so had one of the Indian villages through which we passed. It consisted of about twenty log-huts, each of them guarded by a brace of dogs, which, in the absence of their masters, assembled in a circle round our horses, and made us glad enough to pass on.

"We found the Indians in a square court, about twenty yards across, formed by four covered sheds, in which were seated several of the chiefs, and more than a hundred of the other natives. In each of these sheds, there was erected a raised shelf or floor, about a foot and a half from the ground, sloping towards the court, and covered by a smooth, hard mat, made of split canes sewed together. On this, the principal Indians were seated in state, cross-legged, or stretched, with equal dignity, at their full length.

"In the middle of the court blazed an immense fire of pitch-pine wood, the light from which, added to that of the moon, which was now well up, made every thing quite distinct. Round the fire sat, or rather

squatted, about a dozen elderly Indians, none of them much encumbered with clothing,—smoking pipes, which they handed from one to the other, laughing and shouting with great animation, and turning back from time to time to speak to another circle of younger men, who were standing near enough to warm themselves, or even to reach over the heads of the seniors, to catch up a piece of burning timber to light their pipes with.

"On one side of the illuminated square, in the front part of the shed, sat two musicians, one of whom was hammering away with his fingers on a drum, formed of a piece of deer-skin, stretched over the hollowed trunk of a tree, while the other kept time with a large gourd, containing a handful of gravel. In the square itself, and fronting the shed, which contained this primitive orchestra, twenty squaws, or female Indians, were ranged in a semi-circle, with their backs to the rest of the company; such being, I suppose, the fashionable etiquette amongst the Creeks. As these ladies never once turned round their faces, I am saved the delicate task of describing their looks. Their dance, however, if the very slight movements of their feet and bodies could be so called, was merely a sort of wriggle of the body; but, as the whole party kept excellent time in these movements, it had a most ludicrous appearance. At every fourth or fifth bar, they all struck in with a short, faint, sharp cry, of a particularly wild, and I thought, somewhat mournful sound. These damsels wore no head-dress, but allowed their black, oily hair to hang down upon their necks and shoulders, over which was thrown, most decorously, a gaudy cotton shawl,—weaved, for aught I know, in Manchester or Paisley.

"I was sitting beside the principal chief, and think-

ing the scene rather dull, which he perhaps suspected, when he uttered a few words of command. In a moment, about thirty young Indians flew to the side of the court, where each of them snatched up a couple of the sticks or bats used in the ball-play afterwards to be described. After marshalling themselves for a minute or two, they rushed forward again like so many demons, till they formed a circle round the fire, yelling, screaming, and shouting all the time, in the most horrible way, tumbling heels over head, performing various antics, and waving their sticks, as if they had been frantic. I have no idea of any thing being more completely savage, nor shall I soon forget the way in which their shrieks pierced through and through my head.

"After this exhibition was over, torches were ordered, and I was invited by another of the chiefs to adjourn to a neighbouring building, an immense hut of a flat, sugar-loaf shape, rising in the centre to the height of at least 30 feet, and measuring about 60, or perhaps 80 feet across the floor. It had no wall, as the roof, which was thatched, reached to the ground. A circular seat, skirting the inside, 10 feet broad, touched the roof all the way round. In the middle of the sandy floor, a fire was burning, round which were assembled some of the most athletic young men of the village, who had been previously selected by the elders as performers in the next day's sport.

"These youths were not long in stripping off all their clothes, except a slight wrapper round the middle. I could see at once, that something remarkable was about to take place, but what it was, I could not conjecture. Their first operation was to tie cords tightly round one another's arms and thighs, so as effectually to check the course of the blood in the

veins. As soon as this was done, they splashed themselves over with water from head to foot, and then very deliberately allowed their limbs to be scratched, or rather scarified, by some old Indians, who attended for that purpose with instruments, the name of which I forget. Some of these were made of common needles stuck in a piece of wood, but those most in fashion were formed out of the teeth of the fish called Gar. I purchased one of them, which is now in my possession; it consists of two rows, one of fifteen, the other of fourteen sharp teeth, tied firmly, by means of a grass fibre, to the core of the maize, or to what is called in America a corn-cob.

"Each of the young Indians who were to be operated upon, placed himself in a sloping position against one of the wooden pillars which supported the roof, clasping it with his hands. The experienced performers then drew the instrument I have just described, apparently as hard as he could press it, along the arms and legs of these resolute fellows, over a space of about nine inches in length, so that each of the teeth cut into the skin, or, at all events, made a very decided mark or furrow along the surface. The sharp sound of these scrapings, was very disagreeable the ear.

"Five separate scratchings were made on each man's leg below the knee, five on each thigh, and five on each arm; in all, thirty sets of cuts. As the instrument contained about thirty teeth, each Indian must in every case have had several hundred lines drawn on his skin. The blood flowed profusely as long as the bandages were kept tight. This, indeed, seemed to be one of their principal objects, as the Indians endeavoured to assist the bleeding by throwing their arms and legs about, holding them over, and

sometimes placing them almost in the fire, for a second or two. It was altogether a hideous and frightful scene. For my own part, I scarcely knew how to feel, when I found myself among some dozens of naked savages, streaming with blood from top to toe, skipping and yelling round a fire, or talking at the top of their voices in a language of which I knew nothing, or laughing as merrily as if it were the best fun in the world to be cut to pieces. Not one of these lads uttered the slightest complaint during the operation; but when I watched their countenances closely, I observed that only two or three bore the discipline without shrinking or twisting their faces a little.

"I was told, that these scarifications and bleedings render the men more limber and active, and bring them into proper condition to undergo the exertion of the ball-play on the following morning. I do not know how this may be with my friends the Creeks; but I suspect, half a dozen of the cuts, of which each of these young fellows received some hundreds, would have laid me up for a week.

"Next day, at nine o'clock, on the 3d of April, we set out for the scene of this famous Indian game; and after wandering about for some time, we found the spot in the bosom of the forest, at the distance of a mile or two from the road. It consisted of an open space about 200 yards in length by 20 yards wide, from which the trees had been cleared away, though the grass was left untouched, nor was the surface even levelled. At each end of this area, two green boughs were thrust into the ground, six feet apart from each other, as a sort of wicket. The object of the game, it afterwards appeared, was to drive the ball between these boughs; and which ever party succeeded in accomplishing this, counted one.

"As the natives had reported that the play would begin at ten o'clock, we hurried to the ground; but when we got there, we could discover no symptoms of business; not a soul was to be seen, and we had the whole forest to ourselves. In process of time, a few straggling Indians joined us; but it was fully three hours after the time specified, before the contending parties made their appearance. I have regretted ever since, that I did not employ this interval in sketching some of these most elegant groupes with the Camera Lucida, but, until it was all over, this never once occurred to me; and thus I let slip the only opportunity which the whole journey—I may say my whole life—presented of drawing these interesting savages in a leisurely way.

"By one o'clock, the surrounding space was thickly speckled over with Creek women, accompanied by numerous squads of copper-coloured little Creekies; but still, the real parties in the contest were nowhere to be seen.

"From time to time, indeed, we had sufficient indications of their being somewhere in the neighbourhood, from the loud shrieks or yells raised by a great number of voices in chorus, which issued from the forest, sometimes on one side, and sometimes on the other; but not a soul was yet visible. The Agent and I, being tempted to walk, upon one occasion, in the direction of these cries, came to an opening where some forty or fifty naked savages were lying flat on the grass, seemingly in a state of listlessness or fatigue from the preceding night's dissipation. On moving a little further on, we came to various parties at their toilet. Some of these dandies of the woods were busily employed in painting one eye black, the other yellow. Several youths, more wealthy than the

rest, I suppose, were thrusting long black feathers into their turbans, or cloths which they had wound round their heads, much in the style of Orientals. Others were fitting their naked bodies with tails, to resemble tigers and lions, having already daubed and streaked themselves over from head to foot with a variety of colours, intended to set off the coppery tinge of their own red skins; anxious that art might co-operate as far as possible with nature, in making them look as much like wild beasts as possible.

"At last, a far louder cry than we had yet heard, burst from the woods in the opposite direction. Upon looking up, we saw the Indians of the other party advancing to the ball-play ground in a most tumultuous manner, shrieking, yelling, hallooing, brandishing their sticks, performing somersets, and exhibiting all conceivable antics. At this stage of the game, I was forcibly reminded of the pictures in Cook's Voyages, where multitudes of the South Sea Islanders are represented as rushing forward to attack the boats. This resemblance was heightened by the similarity of the dress, or rather of the undress; for, with the exception of an occasional wrapper across the brow, and a small, square, dark-coloured cloth, about one quarter as big as a pocket handkerchief, tied by a slender cord round the middle, most of them were exactly as Dame Nature turned them out of hand.

"There were fifty of the inhabitants of one village, pitted against fifty of another; and the players being selected from the strongest, nimblest, and most spirited of the whole tribe, the party offered some of the finest specimens of the human form I ever beheld. While waiting for the appointed time of action, the natives stretched themselves on the grass, or stood with their arms folded, or leaned against the trees; but all of

them unconsciously fell into attitudes of such perfect ease and gracefulness, as would have enchanted the heart of a painter.

"Heretofore I had hardly ever seen Indians, except lounging about on the road-sides, wrapped in dirty blankets, begging for tobacco, or stealing, like strange dogs, timorously, and more than half tipsy, through the streets. At all events, I had so little idea that the race was possessed either of activity or of any beauty of form, that, had I been asked, the day before this ball-play, what I thought of the Indians in these respects, I might have answered, that they are all bow-legged, slouchy, ungraceful, and inactive. Whereas, in point of fact, the very reverse of all this is true.

"The first party, on rushing out of the woods in the manner I have described, danced, in the same noisy and tumultuous fashion, round the two green boughs at their end of the ground. After this first explosion, they advanced more leisurely to the middle of the cleared space, where they squatted down in a thick cluster, till their antagonists made their appearance. The same ceremonies were observed by the second party, after which they settled down likewise on the grass in a body. The two groupes remained eyeing one another for a long time, occasionally uttering yells of defiance.

"At a signal from one of the chiefs, the two parties suddenly sprang to their feet, and stood brandishing their sticks over their heads. Every player held one of these implements in each hand. They were formed of light, tough wood, I think willow, about two feet long, and as thick as my thumb. At the end furthest from the hand, the sticks were split and formed into an oval, three inches long by two wide, across which opening, or loop, were stretched

two thongs made of hide. By means of these bats, the ball was struck to a great distance whenever any of the players succeeded in hitting it fairly. This, however, was not very often the case, for reasons which will be stated immediately. Generally speaking, the ball was grasped or held between the ends of the two sticks, and carried along over the head by the fortunate player who had got hold of it. The ball was pretty much like that used in tennis-courts, only not so hard, being formed out of raw hide stuffed with deer's hair.

"After the parties had stood for some minutes in silence, in two rows facing one another, they stepped forward till they came within the distance of a few feet. Upon some word of command being given by one of the chiefs, every one laid down his sticks before him on the ground. A deputation of the chiefs highest in rank now proceeded to examine and count the parties, in order to make sure of there being an equal number on both sides. All these ceremonies, and various others which I forget, being ended, an old man stood forward and made a speech, or talk, as it is called; which, being interpreted to us, appeared to be formed of injunctions to the combatants to observe fair play, and to do honour to their country upon this important occasion. As soon as he ceased, the Indians scattered themselves over the ground, according to some rules not unlike those of cricket, by which the players might intercept the ball, and send it back again in the right direction. I observed that each of the goals, or wickets, formed by the two boughs at the ends, was guarded by a couple of the most expert players, whose duty it was to prevent the ball passing through the opening,—the especial object of their antagonists,

"These long-protracted ceremonials and preparations being over, one of the chiefs, having advanced to the centre of the area, cast the ball high in the air. As it fell, between twenty and thirty of the players rushed forward, and, leaping several feet off the ground, tried to strike it. The multiplicity of blows, acting in different directions, had the effect of bringing the ball to the ground, where a fine scramble took place, and a glorious clatter of sticks, mingled with the cries of the savages. At length an Indian, more expert than the others, contrived to nip the ball between the ends of his two sticks, and, having managed to fork it out, ran off with it like a deer, with his arms raised over his head, pursued by the whole party engaged in the first struggle. The fortunate youth was, of course, intercepted in his progress twenty different times by his antagonists, who shot like hawks across his flight from all parts of the field, to knock the prize out of his grasp, or to trip him up; in short, by any means to prevent his throwing it through the opening between the boughs at the end of the play-ground. Whenever this grand purpose of the game was accomplished, the successful party announced their right to count one, by a fierce yell of triumph, which seemed to pierce the very depths of the wilderness. It was sometimes highly amusing to see the way in which the Indian who had got hold of the ball, contrived to elude his pursuers. It is not to be supposed he was allowed to proceed straight to the goal, or wicket, or even to get near it; but, on the contrary, he was obliged, in most cases, to make a circuit of many hundred yards among the trees, with thirty or forty swift-footed fellows stretching after or athwart him, with their fantastic tigers' tails streaming behind them; and he, in like manner,

at full speed, holding his sticks as high over his head as possible, sometimes ducking to avoid a blow, or leaping to escape a trip, sometimes doubling like a hare, and sometimes tumbling at full length, or breaking his shins on a fallen tree, but seldom losing hold of his treasure without a severe struggle. It really seemed as if the possessor of the ball upon these occasions had a dozen pair of eyes, and was gifted for the time with double speed; for, in general, he had not only to evade the attacks of those who were close to him, but to avoid being cut off, as it is called in nautical language, by the others further a-head. These parts of the game were exciting in the highest degree, and it almost made the spectators breathless to look at them.

"Sometimes the ball, when thrown up in the first instance by the chief, was reached and struck by one of the party before it fell to the ground. On these occasions, it was driven far among the pine-trees, quite out of sight to our eyes, but not to those of the Indians, who darted towards the spot, and drove it back again. In general, however, they contrived to catch the ball before it fell, and either to drive it back, or to grasp it and run along, as I have described, towards the end of the ground. Sometimes, they were too eager to make much noise; but, whenever a successful blow was made, the people on the winning side uttered a short yell, so harsh and wild, that it made my blood run cold every time I heard it, from being associated with tortures, human sacrifices, scalpings, and all the horrors of Indian warfare.

"The notation of the game was most primitive. Two of the oldest and most trustworthy of the chiefs were seated on one side, each with ten small sticks in his hand, one of which was thrust into the sand every

time the ball happened to be driven through the wicket. Twenty was game; but I observed these learned sages never counted higher than ten, so that when it became necessary to mark eleven, the whole ten sticks were pulled out, and one of them replaced.

"Sometimes the ball fell amongst the groupes of lookers on, the women and children of the different Indian villages. It did not signify a straw, however, who was in the way; all respect of persons, age, and sex was disregarded, in the furious rush of the players, whose whole faculties seemed concentrated in the game alone.

"The Agent had previously taught me the art of avoiding the mischief of these whirlwind rushes of the Indians; and it was fortunate for me that he did so. I was standing on one side of the ground, admiring a grand chase which was going on at some considerable distance, when one of the players, who was watching his opportunity, intercepted the fugitive, and struck the ball out of the other's grasp, though he was bounding along with it at a prodigious rate. The ball pitched within a yard or two of the spot where I was standing. In the next instant, a dozen or twenty Indians whizzed past me, as if they had been projected from cannons. I sprang to the nearest tree, as I had been instructed, and putting my hands and legs round, embraced it with all my might. A poor boy, however, close to me, had not time to imitate my example, and being overwhelmed by the multitude, was rolled over and over half a dozen times, in spite of his screams, which were lost in the clatter of sticks, and the yells and the shouts of the combatants, who by this time had become animated by the exercise, and were letting out the secret of their savage nature very fast. I felt rather awkward, I must confess, as they

rushed against me, and very nearly scraped me off; but I held fast, and escaped with a good daubing of resin from the pine-tree. In half a minute afterwards the contest was raging some hundreds of yards off."*

Sometimes, the parties stake on this game, their horses and every thing they have in the world. Sometimes, many are wounded, and some have been killed. All violence on these occasions, however, is forgiven; and it is the only case in which life is not required for life.

Among the Choctaws, the nearest relative of a fugitive murderer is liable to expiate the offence; to avoid which, his family and that of the deceased generally unite, if necessary, to prevail on him to kill himself. Mr. Hodgson was told, that it is common for an Indian who has killed another by accident or design, to remain with the body till he is found, lest his relations should suffer. Among the Creeks, however, of late years, if the slayer escapes, his crime is not visited on his relations, as among the Choctaws.†

Mr. Hodgson, after pursuing for several days' journey the Kentucky Trace, struck off along a "blazed path" through the woods, to visit the Missionary Settlement among the Choctaws at Elliot, sixty miles distant, of which he gives a very pleasing description. "We had," he says, "a delightful ride along our Indian path, through a forest of fine oaks, which, within ten or twelve miles of the Yaloo Busha, was occasionally interspersed with small natural prairies, and assumed the appearance of an English park." The simple hospitality of the Missionaries presently

* B. Hall, vol. iii. pp. 290—305. The game is described by Mr. Hodgson as bearing a resemblance to cricket; but it corresponds more closely to a game well-known to school-boys under the name of *hocky*.

relieved their visiter from the awkwardness of intrusion. Soon after his arrival, he accompanied them to the school, just as a half-breed, who has taken great interest in it, was preparing to give the children *a talk*, previously to returning to his home, sixty miles distant. He first translated into Choctaw a letter addressed to the children by some benevolent persons in the north, who had sent with it a box of clothes, and then gave them a long address in Choctaw. On taking leave, he shook hands with Mr. Hodgson, saying, that "he was glad to hear that the white people in England were interested in the welfare of their red brethren; that the Choctaws were sensible of their want of instruction, and that their teachers were pleased to say that they were not incapable of it; that they were grateful for what had been done, and were aware that it was their duty to co-operate to the utmost of their ability with those who were exerting themselves on their behalf."

"As soon as school was over," continues Mr. Hodgson, "the boys repaired to their agricultural labours; their instructor working with them, and communicating information in the most affectionate manner. The girls proceeded to their sewing and domestic employments under the Missionary sisters. They were afterwards at liberty till the supper-bell rang, when we all sat down together to bread and milk, and various preparations of Indian corn; the Missionaries presiding at the different tables, and confining themselves, as is their custom, except in case of sickness, to precisely the same food as the scholars. After supper, a chapter in the Bible was read, with Scott's Practical Observations. This was followed by singing and prayer; and then all retired to their little rooms in their log-cabins.

"In the morning, at day-light, the boys were at

their agricultural, and the girls at their domestic employments. About seven o'clock, we assembled for reading, singing, and prayer, and soon afterwards, for breakfast. After an interval for play, the school opened with prayer and singing, a chapter in the Bible, and examination on the subject of the chapter of the preceding day. The children then proceeded to reading, writing, accounts, and English grammar, on a modification of the British system. The instructors say, that they never knew white children learn with so much facility; and the specimens of writing exhibited unequivocal proofs of rapid progress. Many spoke English very well.

"The immediate object of the Settlement of Elliot, (called by the Indians Yaloo Busha, from its proximity to a little river of that name, which falls into the Yazoo,) is the religious instruction of the Indians. The Missionaries are, however, aware, that this must necessarily be preceded or accompanied by their civilization; and that mere preaching to the adult Indians, though partially beneficial to the present generation, would not probably be attended with any general or permanent results. While, therefore, the religious interests of the children are the objects nearest to their hearts, they are anxious to put them in possession of those qualifications which may secure to them an important influence in the councils of their nation, and enable them gradually to induce their roaming brethren to abandon their erratic habits for the occupations of civilized life. The general feelings of the nation, at this moment, are most auspicious to their undertaking. For the reasons which I assigned, when speaking of the Creeks, the community at large is very solicitous for civilization. In this, they have

made some progress; many of them growing cotton, and spinning and weaving it into coarse clothing.

"Of the three districts or towns into which its 15,000 or 20,000 souls are divided, one has appropriated to the use of schools its annuity for seventeen years, of 2000 dollars per annum, received from the United States for ceded lands; another, its annuity of 1000 dollars per annum, with the prospect of 1000 more; and one has requested the United States, not only to forbid the introduction of ammunition into the nation, that the hunter may be compelled to work, but to send their annuity in implements of husbandry. At a recent general council of the chiefs, 1300 dollars in money, and upwards of eighty cows and calves, were subscribed for the use of schools; and the total contribution of the Choctaws to this object, exceeds 70,000 dollars.

"Here is noble encouragement for active benevolence! and the industry, judgement, and piety of the seven or eight brethren and sisters at Elliot, seem to qualify them, in a peculiar manner, for their responsible office. They have all distinct departments, the Reverend Mr. Kingsbury being the superintendent; another brother, the physician and steward; another, the instructor of the children; another, the manager of the farm. The females also have separate and definite duties. At present, they are overworked; and the Reverend Mr. Kingsbury greatly regretted that so much of his attention was necessarily engrossed by secular concerns. But, coming into a wilderness, in which the first tree was felled scarcely eighteen months since, it has required no small portion of labour and exertion to erect ten or eleven little log-buildings, to bring into cultivation 40 or 50 acres of

woodland, and to collect upwards of 200 head of cattle. A deep sense, however, of the importance of their object, and an unfaltering confidence in God's blessing on their exertions, have supported them under the difficulties of an infant settlement; and under the still severer trials of a final separation from the circle of their dearest friends, and a total renunciation of every worldly pursuit.

"They spoke very lightly of their privations, and of the trials which the world supposes to be their greatest; sensible, as they said, that these are often experienced, in at least as great a degree, by the soldier, the sailor, or even the merchant. Yet, in this country, these trials are by no means trifling. Lying out, for two or three months, in the woods, on their way hither, with their little babes; in tents, which cannot resist the rain, here falling in torrents, such as I never saw in England; within sound of the nightly howling of wolves, and occasionally visited by panthers, which have approached almost to the door; the ladies must be allowed to require some courage; while, during some seasons of the year, the gentlemen cannot travel twenty miles from home, (and they are sometimes obliged to go thirty or forty for provisions,) without swimming their horses over four or five creeks. Yet, as all these inconveniences are suffered by others with cheerfulness, from worldly motives, they would wish them to be suppressed in the Missionary reports, if they were not calculated to deter many from engaging as Missionaries, under the idea that it is an easy, retired life.

"Three young ladies were staying at the settlement, and assisting in its establishment, until the husbands of two of them should return from the Arkansaw, where they are exploring the country, to

fix on an eligible situation for a mission to those Cherokees who have been induced to sell their lands in Georgia to the Government of the United States, and to seek a subsistence in the wilder forests beyond the Mississippi." *

After parting with the Superintendent of this interesting mission† on the banks of the Yaloo Busha,

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 226—236. From the Missionary Register for 1829, we transcribe the following account of the present state of the Missions. "Choctaws, 21,000 in number, chiefly in the State of Mississippi. Mission begun in 1818. Stations at Elliot, Mayhew, and six other places: 3 missionaries and 23 other labourers, of whom 14 are married. Three of the Missionaries preach in the Choctaw language without an interpreter. The prospects of the Mission are thought to be more favourable now, than at any former period, especially in the north-east part of the nation. There are eight schools at the Mission stations. The average number of scholars is 149, of whom 120 read in the Bible, about 90 write, and 40 are attending to English composition, geography, and arithmetic. In all the schools, in addition to books in English, the pupils are taught to read Choctaw from books prepared by the Missionaries. Two of these schools are taught by native Indians; and there are besides, several small schools where Choctaw only is taught. The people, in many parts of the nation, cultivate much more land, and in a better manner than formerly. They are very desirous that some of their number should learn and practise the mechanical arts, and much is done to patronise all who do. They are also becoming increasingly anxious to obtain agricultural implements, household furniture, and apparel. Severe laws have been made against the introduction of whisky, and, in some parts of the nation, are rigorously enforced. Several chiefs and captains have been put out of office for misconduct in this respect."

† Mr. Kingsbury pointed out to our Traveller a plant growing in the woods, which, if swallowed immediately after the attack of a rattle-snake, proves an effectual antidote. "He said he never stirred from home without some of it in his pocket, and that in the State of Mississippi, it was commonly carried by all persons who traverse the forest." As the existence of any remedy for the bite of the rattle-snake has been questioned, it is important that the plant should be described, and its efficacy verified. The Author of "La Fayette en Amerique" describes the Indian specific as "*la pulpe bien mâchée d'une espèce de tubercule assez semblable à une petite pomme-de-terre.*"—Vol. i. p. 479.

Mr. Hodgson proceeded along an Indian path through the woods, till he reached, towards evening, the solitary dwelling of a half-breed Choctaw, whose wife was a Chickasaw, and whose hut was on the frontier of the two nations. He found the chief sitting before his door, watching the gambols of fifty or sixty of his horses, which were frolicking before him, and of more than two hundred very fine cattle, which were coming up, as usual, at sunset, of their own accord, from different parts of the surrounding forest, where they have a boundless and luxuriant range of pasture. By giving the cattle a little salt at the cow-pen, at fixed periods, the return of the most numerous herds is secured, to whatever distance they may have strayed.* The food of the cattle in this part of the country, consists chiefly of cane (*arundo gigantea* and *arundo aquatica*), which forms a thick undergrowth in the forests for many hundred miles. The droves of horses which the Kentuckians and Tennesseans bring down for sale in the south, require no other food during the journey.

The Choctaw chief had chosen this situation, partly for its retirement, (in some directions he had no neighbours for fifty or a hundred miles,) and partly because it afforded excellent pasturage and water for his cattle. He had a few slaves to cultivate as much land as was necessary, and he killed a few deer as he wanted them. Near the house were some bones of the buffalo; but that animal had not for many years been

* Bradbury, in his account of Upper Louisiana, states, that "salt furnishes the means by which the shepherd or herdsman obtains a complete dominion over the will of his flocks or his herds, and, in the midst of this vast region, can call them around him at pleasure." In like manner, the Swiss goatherds ensure the return of their herds from the mountains, by the practice of giving them a little salt, at sunset, at the cottage door. See p. 154 of this volume.

seen in this part of the country. Mr. Hodgson met with a hospitable reception; a bear-skin was spread for him in the only room; and as his intelligent host spoke English very well, the day he halted here enabled him to obtain some further information respecting the Indians. The wife, a pleasing young woman, ate with them, but either could not or would not speak English. "I often smiled," says our Traveller, "to find myself sitting over a cup of coffee between a Chickasaw and a Choctaw."

"His host told him, that great changes had taken place among the Indians, even in his time; that in many tribes, when he was young, the children, as soon as they rose, were made to plunge into the water, and swim, in the coldest weather; and were then collected on the bank of the river, to learn the manners and customs of their ancestors, and hear the old men recite the traditions of their forefathers. They were assembled again at sunset, for the same purpose; and were taught to regard as a sacred duty, the transmission to their posterity of the lessons thus acquired. 'And thou shalt teach them diligently unto thy children, and shalt talk of them when thou sittest in thy house, and when thou walkest by the way, and when thou liest down, and when thou risest up.' He said, that this custom is now abandoned by all the tribes with which he is acquainted, except, to use his own words, 'where there is, here and there, an old, ancient fellow, who upholds the old way;' that many have talked of resuming their old customs, which the Whites have gradually undermined, but are unable, from the loss of their traditions; that he supposes that these might be recovered from distant tribes over the Mississippi, but that the Choctaws are acting more wisely in seeking civilization.

" He told me, that they had an obscure story, somewhat resembling that of Jacob wrestling with an angel; and that the full-blooded Indians always separate the sinew which shrank, and that it is never seen in the venison exposed for sale: he did not know what they did with it. His elder brother, whom I afterwards met, told me, that they eat it as a rarity; but I have also heard, though on less respectable authority, that they refrain from it, like the ancient Jews. A gentleman who had lived on the Indian frontier, or in the nation, for ten or fifteen years, told me, that he had often been surprised that the Indians always detached this sinew; but it had never occurred to him, to inquire the reason.

" My half-breed Choctaw also informed me, that there were tribes or families among the Indians, somewhat similar to the Scottish clans; such as, the Panther Family, the Bird Family, the Racoon Family, the Wolf Family. He belonged to the Racoon Family, but his children to the family of his wife, families being perpetuated in the female line; an institution originating, perhaps, in polygamy. By marriage, the husband is considered as, in some degree, adopted into the family of his wife; and the mother's brothers are regarded as, in some respects, entitled to more influence over the children than their own father. The suitor always consults them (sending them the usual propitiatory offering of a blanket) when he wishes to marry their niece; and if they approve, the father consents as a matter of course. I have since had this confirmed by information from many different sources.

" Those of the same family or clan, are not allowed to intermarry, although no relationship, however remote, can be traced between them; and although the

ancestors of the two parties may have been living, for centuries, in different and distant nations. A marriage between a brother and a sister, would not excite a stronger sensation, or be more loudly condemned. Indeed, wherever any of the family or clan meet, they recognise one another as brothers and sisters; and use one another's houses, though personally strangers, without reserve.

"With respect to the religious belief of the Choctaws, he said, that it is a prevailing opinion among them, that there is a Great Spirit, who made the earth, and placed them on it, and who preserves them in their hunting journeys, and gives them their 'luck in life;' that, however, they do not often think of Him; that they believe all who die, go to the Spirit Country: but that some suppose it is divided into two nations, the one abounding in fine woods, and deer, and buffaloes, and the other destitute of both; that these imagine, that when the spirit of a bad man leaves the body, it proceeds on the same road as that of a good man, till the road forks, when it takes the way to the bad country, supposing it to be the other; that many expect a great day, when the world will be burned and made over again, far pleasanter than it is now, when the spirits will return from the spirit country, and settle again upon it; and that near the place where they were buried, will be their future home. He here pointed to a sermon-book, which he received from his white father, (for he can read,) and said, the following sentence conveyed the opinion of many Indians: 'Wheresoever the body is laid till the resurrection, thither, as to a dwelling-house, death brings us home;' or, as an Indian would express himself, 'the Great Fire brings us home.'

"On Sunday evening, two poor Indian hunters

came in, with no covering but a little blanket round their loins. Our host immediately lighted his pipe, gave two or three puffs, and passed it to his Indian guests, who did the same; when it was laid down again. Their tomahawks were so made as to serve as pipes, the back of the hatchet-head having a little socket attached to it, and the handle being bored. As soon as the strangers heard that I was 'a British,' they seemed much pleased; and indirectly confirmed what I had previously heard, both in the Creek and Choctaw nations, of the lingering attachment of many of the Indians to their ancient allies.

"Before the hunters arrived, my host had been speaking on the subject; and said, that the older Indians had frequently inquired of him, where their white people were gone; that they had fine times formerly, when their white people were among them, who used to give them handsome presents for nothing; but they disappeared suddenly, and nobody had ever seen them since; 'however, may-be they'll come again.' He said, that many large districts had suffered severely, especially during the late war, for refusing to fight against the British; and some individuals had been put to death, even by their own nation, after it had gone over to the Americans.

"Our hunters mentioned two old kings, who were still living, whose lives had been attempted for their unshaken fidelity to the English;—a fidelity which induced them to decline any commission under the American Government; declaring that they would rather die in their huts, than separate themselves from their old friends, though they might never see any of them again. They have, in consequence, been stripped of their rank, and reduced to poverty. One of them walked to New Orleans, when he heard that

the British were approaching, in order to throw himself into their camp; though one person, he said, could not 'do much good.' He reached Lake Pont-Chartrain just after the battle, and returned home much disappointed. My heart warmed at the recital; and if I might have consulted my inclinations, my course, the next morning, would have been to their dwellings, 100 or 150 miles distant. All I could do, was to send them a little tobacco, which I had brought with me to conciliate the Indians; with some messages which, the hunters said, would delight them as much as if they expected to see me after four sleeps (nights).

"I told them of the death of King George, who, among the Choctaws, is often spoken of with a degree of respect that must gratify a British heart; although enlightened humanity forbids us to wish that they should cherish their former feelings, under circumstances which must render them productive only of disappointment. The hunters, who conversed with us through the medium of our half-breed host, remained till late; an Indian never thinking of leaving any thing that he is interested in, merely because it is night, as they have no fixed engagements to prevent their sleeping wherever they please. I was much struck with the attention with which they listened to each other's long narrations, occasionally signifying their assent by a long suspended intonation, somewhat like the sound produced by a humming-top, or a spinning-wheel at its greatest velocity, but scrupulously avoiding interrupting the speaker till he had finished." *

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 243—250. In the politeness of these Indians in conversation, in their abhorrence of marriages between parties the most distantly related, and in several other points, these Choctaws strikingly resemble the Abipones of Paraguay, as described by Dobrizhoffer.

The next day's journey was a ride of fifty miles along an Indian path between 15 and 20 inches in breadth, through woods which afforded a protection from the hot sun, when it gleamed beneath the showers. The track was, in this distance, twice crossed by hunters' paths, a little narrower; and our Traveller was warned, that, if he deviated into these, he would come to no habitation, probably, for 100 or 150 miles. The path for a long distance lay across a succession of ridges of considerable elevation, and so steep as greatly to fatigue the horses. Frequently, fallen trees obstructed the path; and the gulleys, with their swoln currents and beds of moving sand, presented a still more serious obstacle. Sometimes, it was necessary to dismount, and force the horses to cross, by pushing them off the bank; one of the party having previously crossed on raft wood, or on a tree felled so as to form a bridge. The channels of the creeks are deep, rather than wide; so that a lofty tulip-tree is often of sufficient length to fall across them. The bottoms of the creeks are often rendered dangerous to horses by "cypress-knees," rising out of the ground at a considerable distance from the tree itself, with the roots of which they are connected; they are of a conical shape, 18 or 20 inches high, and, when covered with water, may ruin a horse in spite of every precaution. About sunset, Mr. Hodgson completed his long and tedious journey, having seen in the course of the day only two Indian hunters, and started two panthers. His host, this night, was the elder brother of the half-breed to whose hospitality he had been indebted the night before, and kept a stand on the Kentucky Trace, which our Traveller had here regained. He was wealthy, and had within about sixty miles from his

farm, a cow-pen with several hundred head of cattle. The shaded side of the house was hung with saddles and bridles, side-saddles with smart scarlet housings, rifles, shot-pouches, powder-horns, and skins of deer, buffaloes, and bears. Several dogs were lying about, and a herd of cattle were coming up to be milked. Near the house were cabins for the negroes, who were seen at work in the maize-fields at a short distance. The chief was mild and dignified in his manner, and very friendly, but spoke little English.

The next night, unable to reach the stand, about 28 miles distant, owing to the illness of one of the horses, our Traveller was obliged to lie out. Towards sunset, he fell in with several parties of Chickasaws repairing to a dance and ball-play. The magnificence of their dresses exceeded any thing that he had hitherto seen, and the profusion of silver ornaments was far greater than among the Choctaws. They cut a splendid figure as they galloped through the woods. "The Chickasaws generally," says Mr. Hodgson, "appeared to us neater in their persons, than our friends the Choctaws. The former seem to expend in ornaments, the savings and annuity of which the latter appropriate a large proportion to their farms or cattle. Not that the Chickasaws entirely neglect agriculture or pastoral labours; but their little patches are worse cultivated, and their herds are less considerable. I was informed, that they have only one chief; while the Choctaws are divided into three districts, under different chiefs." *

* "Chickasaws: 3625 in number, who occupy the northern part of the State of Mississippi. A mission was begun in 1821 by the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia, which was transferred, in 1827, to the American Board of Missions. Stations at Monroe, Tokshish, Martyn, and Caney Creek. Three missionaries and

While getting a cup of coffee at the house of a full-blood Chickasaw, a little negro girl (the only person about the house who could speak English) said to Mr. Hodgson: "Master's wife is lying behind you." On looking round, he saw nothing but a bed; when the little girl told him to look under it, and explained herself by adding: "Mistress is buried there; but do not speak loud, or master will cry." "I could not learn," says Mr. Hodgson, "whether this is the common mode of sepulture among the Chickasaws, or adopted only on particular occasions, as a mark of peculiar respect or affection. Bartram mentions that, among the Creek Indians, it is common to bury the dead in their houses, and in a sitting posture; and an intelligent half-breed Choctaw informed me, that this was sometimes practised among themselves. The Choctaws formerly placed their dead on a scaffold, in a large chamber called the house of bones, a particular portion of which was reserved for each family, as the Racoon family, or the Panther family. Whenever they change their residence, expelled by victorious tribes, or induced, by the growing scarcity of deer or buffalo, to dive deeper into the forests for subsistence, they carried the bones of their fathers along with them." *

The practice of depositing the dead on separate scaffolds, is described by Bradbury as prevailing among the Minnetarees on the Missouri. The Caraibs, according to Sheldon, buried their died in a sitting

four other labourers, of whom five are married. The scholars are about 100. Some important laws against the introduction of intoxicating liquors, theft, and other crimes, have recently been made by the nation, and seem to be rigorously enforced."—Miss. Reg., 1829, p. 138.

* Hodgson, vol. i. pp. 256—260. The Indians of South America are not less strongly attached to the spots where the bones of their fathers repose.—See Humboldt's Per. Nar., vol. v., pp. 625—9.

posture, in the hut in which the deceased expired. This custom appears also to have been common to the ancient Peruvians.* The Guaranies placed the corpse in an earthen vase, which they buried "beneath his proper hearth." Chateaubriand states, that when an Indian dies in winter, while hunting, his body is kept on branches of trees, and the last honours are not paid to his remains, till after the return of the warriors to the village of his tribe. The ceremonies differ according to the degree of kindred, and the dignity, sex, and age of the deceased. They have also their seasons of "public exhumation and general commemoration," which are described in this Writer's sentimental romance of Atala.

"Why," exclaims M. Chateaubriand, "are the savages of America, among all the nations of the earth, those who discover the greatest veneration for their dead? In national calamities, the first thing they think of is, to save the treasures of the tomb. They recognize no legal property but where the remains of ancestors have been interred. When the Indians have pleaded their right of possession, they have always employed this argument, which, in their opinion, was irrefragable: 'Shall we say to the bones of our fathers, Rise and follow us to a strange land?' Finding that this argument was disregarded, what course did they pursue? They carried along with them the bones which could not follow. The motives of this attachment to sacred relics, may easily be discovered. Civilized nations have monuments of literature and the arts for the memorials of their country; they have cities, palaces, towers, columns, obelisks; they have the furrows of the plough in the fields cul-

† See MOD. TRAV., Peru, p. 309.

tivated by them; their names are engraven in brass and marble; their actions are recorded in their chronicles. The savages have none of these things. Their names are not inscribed on the trees of their forests. Their huts, built in a few hours, perish in a few moments. Their traditional songs are vanishing with the last memory which retains, with the last voice that repeats them. For the tribes of the New World, there is therefore but a single monument,—the grave. Take from the savages, the bones of their fathers, and you take from them their history, their laws, and their very gods."*

The Choctaws, Chickasaws, Creeks, and Cherokees are all tribes of the same great family, to which also the celebrated tribe of Natchez belonged; and it is probable, that all the nations of Louisiana and Florida were of the same race.† In many respects, they exhibit a close affinity, in their rites and customs, to some of the South American tribes. It is remarkable, that the name of Flat-heads, is common to the Choctaws of the Mississippi and the Omaguas of the Amazons.‡ In some of the Choctaw customs and traditions mentioned by Mr. Hodgson, there is an apparent approximation to Jewish notions; and coincidences still more remarkable, some of a most marvellous nature, have been adduced by other Travellers, in support of the romantic hypothesis which makes the American aborigines the descendants of the Ten Tribes of Israel.§ Although this fanciful reverie

* Chateaubriand's Travels in America, vol. i., pp. 215, 216.

† See page 17 of our first volume.

‡ See Mod. Trav., Peru, p. 337.

§ This quaint notion, first started by the Romish Missionaries, (who discovered the word Messiah in Mexico!) has found several advocates among Protestant writers; particularly Adair, the author of a "History of the Indian Tribes," who was for many years em-

(which has originated in a notion entirely erroneous with regard to the Ten Tribes supposed to be lost) is wholly untenable, and scarcely deserves the pains of argumentative refutation, still, it is not impossible, that Jewish civilization may have extended itself from Eastern Asia to the tribes of the New World. Alvarez, in his History of China, asserts, that Jews had been settled in that empire for above six centuries; and long before that period, they had established themselves in the great plains of Central Asia. In the province of Honan, there are said to be still some families of the *Teaou-kin-keaou* or sinew-plucking sect, (so called because they take away the sinews from all the flesh which they eat,) who observe the eighth day as a sabbath, and whom Dr. Morrison supposes to be Jews.*

Among other coincidences between the nations of Eastern Asia and the aboriginal Americans, Humboldt remarks, that the strong attachment to the spots where the bones of their fathers repose, so characteristic of the Indians, is cherished in all its primitive ardour by the Chinese. "These people do not change their dwelling, without carrying with them the bones of

ployed as agent among the North American Indians. In 1816, the Rev. Dr. Elias Boudinot, of New Jersey, published a volume entitled "A Star in the West, or an humble Attempt to discover the long lost Ten Tribes of Israel;" in which the same opinion was maintained. In 1825, appeared another volume on the same subject, by the Rev. Ethnan Smith, pastor of a church in Poultney, entitled, "View of the Hebrews, or the Tribes of Israel in America." Of these two volumes, Mr. Israel Worsley has made copious use in his "View of the American Indians, shewing them to be Descendants of the Ten Tribes." London, 1828. Still more recently, the hypothesis has found an enthusiastic advocate in a female Writer: "The Hope of Israel, &c., by Barbara Anne Simon." 8vo. London. 1829. A critical account of these latter publications, and a refutation of the error on which the notion rests, will be found in the ...ctic Review, Aug. 1829, art. 2.

*...orrison's Mem. of an Embassy, p. 93.

their ancestors. Coffins are seen deposited on the banks of great rivers, in order to be transported, with the furniture of the family, to a remote province." * The dislike of a milk diet, which is another remarkable trait in the indigenous population of the New World, may be partly accounted for by the fact, that the country was originally destitute of animals capable of yielding it. "But how," remarks the learned Traveller, "can we avoid being astonished at this indifference in the immense Chinese population, living in great part without the Tropics, and in the same latitude with the nomade and pastoral tribes of Central Asia?" †

Many of the apparent coincidences between the Indian and Jewish institutions, are not more close than may be detected in the rites and customs of nations in the heart of Africa. Thus, for instance, the Indians have been represented as resembling the Jews, in being divided into tribes, distinguished, if not by armorial banners, by heraldic names, as the tortoise, the bear, the eagle, &c. The Mandingoes are, in like manner, divided into clans, distinguished by a *kontong* or surname. They have also their head-men or chiefs, and their prophets or sorcerers. Their funeral customs are strikingly like those of the Indians. The grave is frequently dug in the floor of the deceased's hut, or in the shade of a favourite tree; and ground where a body is buried, becomes sacred. The same mourning and feasting are kept up for several days, according to the rank of the deceased. In the palavers or councils, the speakers are listened to with Indian politeness, and the elders are addressed

* Humboldt's Personal Narrative, vol. v., p. 629. † Ib.

as fathers. Lastly, circumcision appears to have been practised by the African nations prior to the introduction of Islamism; whereas the assertion, that that rite once prevailed among the American nations, rests on very doubtful evidence.*

The most remarkable approach to the rites of the Jewish law, would seem to be found in the sacrifices practised by the Indians at their grand festivals. The accounts of these furnished by Adair, Beatty, and others, bear strongly the marks of credulity and the influence of a favourite hypothesis; but the following statement, contained in a paper by Dr. Edward Walsh, Physician to the Forces in Canada, comes in so authentic a shape, that we cannot refuse to admit it as evidence of the alleged coincidence.

"I went on another occasion," says the Writer, "with a party from Fort Erie to the Shawanese Town near Buffalo Creek. It was early in May, when the country had shaken off its white robe, and appeared in the bright verdant dress of spring. We found the village of a superior order, the houses well constructed and comfortable, and some even with an upper story. They surrounded a large green or common, in the centre of which the council-house or temple was erected. This was a large oval building, 32 paces long by 24 broad, and about 14 feet high to the roof. It was lighted by a few small, square apertures close to the eaves, which also let out the smoke; consequently,

* See Mod. Trav., Africa, vol. iii., pp. 215—283. Major Laing was struck with the resemblance of some of the Soolima customs to those of ancient Rome; and Chateaubriand says, that, confining your attention to the laws and manners of the Indians, "you will see nothing in them but Greeks and Romans."—Chateaubriand, vol. i., p. 196.

it was somewhat dark. The door facing the west had a rude but spacious portico. The roof, which had a high pitch, was propped up within by four strong posts, between which was the hearth, with a large kettle over it. There was a seat all round, and the walls, which were formed of split plank, were half-way up covered with mats. Here we found a great number of Indians assembled. The women were ranged outside the wall, and the men surrounded the fire inside, at the head of whom was the High Priest in his pontificals. His face was painted like the quarterings of a coat of arms, and he was furnished with a beard. He wore on his head a high tiara of beaver-fur, stuck round with dyed porcupine quills. He had over his chest a kind of stomacher, worked in figures, and ornamented with wampum, which was supposed to represent the Jewish Urim and Thummim; in this, the Indians imagine some little spirit resides, which they talk to and consult in dubious events. Whilst the usual dance or chorus was performing, a dog, which had been previously selected and fattened, was boiling in the kettle: when cooked, the flesh was cut off, and the bones scraped clean and wrapped up in its skin. The flesh was then divided into small bits, and handed round, on a wooden platter, to all those that surrounded the fire: at the same time, the High Priest dipped a branch of hemlock pine in the broth, and sprinkled it every where as well on the people as on the walls. The ceremony concluded with the circular dance and chant, in which the women joined. This chant or hymn is sung by all the Indian nations in North America, however they may differ in custom and language. Humboldt even heard it in Mexico, and it is supposed to be synonymous with the Hallelujah of the Psalms. It was pricked down for me by a

gentleman who understood musical composition. To my ears, it sounds like the lullaby of the nursery :—

‖ Tam le yah'al lah le lu lah tam ye lah yo ha wah ha ha hah !

"It must be admitted, that this ceremony bears some rude resemblance to the Feast of the Passover, substituting a dog for a lamb, of which they have none,—but dogs are sacrificed on all solemn occasions." *

The resemblance, although evidently the most is made of it, is assuredly rude enough; and the points of dissimilarity may be thought to predominate. Chateaubriand, in the festival of green corn, as celebrated among the Natchez, could see nothing but the worship of the Sun.† Almost all the tribes of Florida and Louisiana, he says, adored the Sun, like the Peruvians and the Mexicans. They had temples, priests or sorcerers, and sacrifices. Only they blended with this worship of the south, the worship and traditions of some divinity of the north." He represents a sort of fetishism, also, as being common to all the Indians. "Every savage has his *manitou*, as every negro has his fetish: it is either a bird, a fish, a quadruped, a reptile, a stone, a piece of wood, a bit of cloth, any coloured object, or a European or American ornament." ‡ Charlevoix says, that when the Huron (or Iroquois) goes to battle or to the chase, the image of his *okki* or tutelary spirit, is as carefully carried with

* Amulet for 1829, pp. 48—50. "In the north of America," remarks Humboldt, "among the Choctaws and the Chickasaws, travellers somewhat credulous (L'Escarbot, Charlevoix, and even Adair) have heard the Hallelujah of the Hebrews sung; as, according to the pundits, the three sacred words of the mysteries of Eleusis (*konx om pax*) resound still in India."—Humboldt's Pers. Narr., vol. iii., p. 267.

† See his description of this festival, Travels, vol. i., pp. 218—227.

‡ *Ib.*, vol. ii., p. 37.

him as his arms. "At night, each one places his guardian idol on the palisades surrounding the camp, with the face turned from the quarter to which the warriors or hunters are about to march. He then prays to it for an hour, as he does also in the morning before he continues his course. This homage performed, he lies down to rest, and sleeps in tranquillity, fully persuaded that his spirit will assume the whole duty of keeping guard, and that he has nothing to fear."

With this account, the relations of the Moravian missionaries, respecting not only the Iroquois, but the Delawares, perfectly accord. "Our missionaries," says Loskiel, "have not found rank polytheism to exist among the Indians. They have, however, something which may be called an idol. This is the *manitto*; representing in wood the head of a man in miniature, which they always carry about them, either on a string round their neck, or in a bag. They hang it also about their children, to preserve them from illness, and ensure to them success. When they perform a solemn sacrifice, a *manitto*, or a head as large as life, is put upon a pole in the middle of the house. The *manittoes* are also considered as tutelar spirits. One Indian has, in a dream, received the sun as his tutelar spirit; another, the moon; a third, the owl; a fourth, the buffalo."* Mackenzie, also, describing the customs of the Knisteneaux Indians, represents them as carrying in their "medicine-bag," "a kind of household god." This is a small carved image, about eight inches long, wrapped

* See an able paper on the religion of the Indian Tribes, by Dr. Jarvis of New York, in Buchanan's Sketches, p. 213, *et seq.*; from which these extracts are taken. Heckewelder's testimony is also cited in corroboration of this statement.

in an inner covering of down and beech bark, over which are several folds of red and blue cloth. "This little figure," he says, "is an object of the most pious regard." These Northern Indians also sacrifice the dog at their spring and autumn festivals: those which are very fat and milk-white, are preferred.*

The statements of Dr. James respecting the religion of the Missouri tribes, shew the prevalence of the same notions. The *Wahconda*, or Master of Life, is acknowledged to be the creator and preserver of all things, and "the fountain of mystic medicine." In conversation, he is frequently appealed to in the phrase, *Wahconda wa-na-kong*, "the Wahconda hears what I say." But "their *Wahconda*," adds Dr. James, "seems to be a Protean god: he is supposed to appear to different persons under different forms. All those who are favoured with his presence, become medicine-men, or magicians, in consequence of thus having seen and conversed with the *Wahconda*, and of having received from him some particular medicine of wondrous efficacy. He appeared to one in the shape of a grizzly bear; to another, in that of a bison; to a third, in that of a beaver, an owl, &c.; and one individual attributed to an animal from which he received his medicine, the form and features of the ele-

* Mackenzie, p. ci. "It is remarkable," observes Dr. Jarvis, "that the description given by Peter Martyr, who was the companion of Columbus, of the worship of the inhabitants of Cuba, perfectly agrees with this account of the Northern Indians by Mackenzie. (Pet. Martyr, *apud* Stillingfleet's Orig. Sac., vol. i., p. 3.) They believed in the existence of one supreme, invisible, immortal, and omnipotent Creator, whom they named *Jocahuna*, but at the same time acknowledged a plurality of subordinate deities. They had little images, called *Zemes*, which they considered as bodies inhabited by spirits; and oracular responses were therefore received from them as uttered by the Divine command." See also Edwards's West Indies, vol. i., pp. 48—63.

phant."* How an American Indian should dream of an elephant, it is hard to imagine: one would as soon have expected *Wahconda* to appear to him in the form of a mammoth. "Annually, in the month of July, the Minnetarees celebrate their great medicine-dance, or dance of penitence, which may well be compared with the *currak pooja* or expiatory tortures of the Hindoos." The same tribe occasionally resort to a Medicine-Stone,—a large, insulated, naked rock, for the purpose of propitiating the *Man-ho-pa*, or Great Spirit, by presents, and by fasting and lamentation during the space of from three to five days. Both the Minnetarees and the Mandans have a tradition respecting the narrow bridge which their spirits must pass over in order to reach the mansions of their departed ancestors, and from which all worthless Indians will slip off into a raging torrent; which strongly recalls the *Alsirat* of Mohammed. Many of their self-inflicted penances, described by Dr. James, rival those of the Hindoo *yogees*.†

To attempt, within our fast-contracting limits, any thing like a complete view of the manners, rites, and traditions of the American nations, would obviously be impracticable. The preceding details will sufficiently shew, what erroneous notions have prevailed respecting the real character of their religion, and how completely the supposed resemblance to Jewish rites disappears on a close investigation. We may, perhaps, admit, with Dr. Jarvis, that "there is a smaller departure" in their polytheistic system, from the patriarchal faith, "than among the more civilized nations of Egypt, Greece, and Rome;" the subordi-

* James, vol. i., p. 246.

† James, vol. i., p. 252–259. Lewis and Clarke.

nate deities are kept at a far greater distance from the Great Spirit; and "there has been no attempt among them to degrade to the likeness of men, the invisible and incomprehensible Creator of the Universe." From this, their nomade habits have, perhaps, contributed to preserve them, and even their imperfect civilization; since we find the same comparative simplicity of creed, combined with the same spirit of independence and patriarchal government, in the pastoral hordes of Eastern Asia, and a near approach to it among the African nations. On the other hand, the New World has had its priests of Moloch and of Baal, its Indian Rome and Memphis. Nor is the contrast less striking, between the primeval habits of the hunters of the Mississippi, and the hierocratic or regal governments and complicated social systems of Anahuac, and the Cordillera,—the terrible and bloody superstition of the worshippers of Mexitli, or the milder idolatry of the children of the sun.

The sources of the Mexican civilization can hardly be considered as doubtful. The Mexican calendar and zodiac are the same as those of Eastern Asia; the sciences and arts of the Aztecs and Toltecs were clearly Asiatic; and historical tradition, as well as many of their institutions, symbols, and monuments, connect the civilization of Central America with Tibet, Mongolia, and Japan. On the other hand, the best defined specimens of art among the antiquities of Ohio and Kentucky, are of a Polynesian character; and there seems reason to believe, that America has received some tribes of the widely scattered Malay family. Yet, again, their medicine-men and magi-

* Mod. Trav. Peru, pp. 9—88

cians, their mystic societies and colleges, their soubriquets and *totems*, or clan-names, are all African, still more than Asiatic, in their character; reminding us of the customs of the Mandingoes, the Timmanees, and the Soosoos of Senegambia. We say nothing of the Scythian *tumuli* and the Celtic monuments which have employed the learned labours of American antiquaries, for this is very debateable ground;* nor of the Cantabrian and Irish words that have been discovered in the Indian dialects, for the African languages present coincidences equally singular and numerous. The affinities, in short, which the aborigines of the New Continent exhibit to the nations of the Old World, in their language, physiognomy, traditions, and customs, are numerous and exceedingly curious, but irregular, and related to very different races and countries. Upon the origin of the American nations, history sheds no light; nor can philology be made to furnish a clew that shall guide us through the labyrinth.

With regard to the Choctaws and other Floridian tribes living within the American frontier, the primitive Indian character is fast disappearing before the natural effects of intercourse with the Whites. More than half the Cherokee nation, and a large part of the Choctaws and Chickasaws, as well as of all the other tribes with whom the Whites have had connexion, are of mixed blood. These half-breeds already form a numerous body, of promising talents and, in, general, handsome appearance.† It appears that "a portion

* These consist of cromlechs, stones of memorial or sacrifice, circles of memorial, rocking-stones, and barrows.—See Hodgson's Travels, vol. ii., Appendix, p. 434.

† See Report concerning Indian Affairs laid before Congress.—Hodgson, vol. ii., p. 405.

of these tribes, having mingled much with the Whites, and made some progress in the arts of civilised life, have lately attempted to erect an independent government within the limits of Georgia and Alabama. Those States, claiming to be the only sovereigns within their territories, extended their laws over the Indians, which induced the latter to call upon the United States for protection." The answer of the President gave them to understand, that their attempt could not be countenanced by the Executive of the Federal Union; as it was at variance with the provision in the Constitution, that no new State shall be formed or erected within the jurisdiction of any other State, without the consent of its Legislature. They were therefore advised either to emigrate beyond the Mississippi, or to submit to the laws of those States.

"Our conduct towards these people," remarks President Jackson, "is deeply interesting to our national character. Their present condition, contrasted with what they once were, makes a most powerful appeal to our sympathies. Our ancestors found them the uncontrolled possessors of these vast regions. By persuasion and force, they have been made to retire from river to river, and from mountain to mountain, until some of the tribes have become extinct, and others left but remnants, to preserve, for a while, their once terrible names. Surrounded by the Whites, with their arts of civilization, which, by destroying the resources of the savage, doom him to weakness and decay, the fate of the Mohegan, the Naragansett, and the Delaware, is fast overtaking the Choctaw, the Cherokee, and the Creek. That this fate surely awaits them, if they remain within the limits of the States, does not admit of a doubt. Humanity and national honour demand, that every effort should be

made to avert so great a calamity. It is too late to inquire, whether it was just in the United States, to include them and their territory within the bounds of new States, whose limits they could control. That step cannot be retraced. A State cannot be dismembered by Congress, or restricted in the exercise of her constitutional power."

Thus, it would seem, that Congress is not powerful enough to repair the wrongs it has itself committed. States of yesterday, with their mushroom legislatures, lording it over vast tracts of unsettled country, although created by the Federal Government, which fixes their territorial limits,—are recognised as having the same independent powers and inalienable prerogatives as the original States, whose governments are older than the Republic, and which surrendered only a portion of their power, when they acceded to the Federal Union. Something, however, the President thinks, ought to be done for the Indians, and may be done consistently with the rights of the States. As a means of effecting this end, he suggests for the consideration of Congress, "the propriety of setting apart an ample district west of the Mississippi, and without the limits of any State or territory, to be guaranteed to the Indian tribes as long as they shall occupy it; each tribe to have a distinct control over the portion designed for its use. There, they may be secured in the enjoyments of their own choice, subject to no other control from the United States, than such as may be necessary to preserve peace on the frontier, and between the several tribes. There, the benevolent may endeavour to teach them the arts of civilisation, and, by promoting union and harmony among them, to raise up an interesting commonwealth, destined to perpetuate the race, and to attest the humanity and

justice of this Government. The emigration should be voluntary; for it would be as cruel as unjust, to compel the aborigines to abandon the graves of their fathers, and seek a home in a distant land. But they should be distinctly informed, that, if they remained within the limits of the State, they must be subject to the laws. In return for their obedience as individuals, they will, without doubt, be protected in the enjoyment of those possessions which they have improved by their industry. But it seems to be visionary to suppose, that, in this state of things, claims can be allowed on tracts of country on which they have neither dwelt nor made improvements, merely because they have seen them from the mountain, or passed them in the chase. Submitting to the laws of the States, and receiving, like other citizens, protection in their persons and property, they will, ere long, become merged in the mass of our population." *

The subject of titles is one of extreme delicacy; but there seems no good reason for demurring as to the validity of the plea, sanctioned by Vattel, Montesquieu, and Adam Smith, that the Indian title, resting upon mere occupancy for the purpose of hunting, ought not to bar the progress of civilization. It is not a true and legal possession like our tenures, for they have no idea of a title to the soil itself; it is, therefore, a right not to be *transferred*, but extinguished; but, till legitimately extinguished, their title certainly claims to be respected by all courts. † Upon these principles,

* President's Message, 1829.

† See, on Indian titles, Hodgson, vol. ii., App. pp. 395—402. The process of extinguishing Indian titles, advances rapidly. A treaty has recently been concluded with the Potowatamies and Ottawas of Rock River, and the Winnebagoes their neighbours, by which 6,000,000 acres of rich country between Lake Michigan and the Mississippi, (part of what is called the North-west Territory,)

the first colonists seem to have proceeded; and this is the ground avowedly taken by the American Government in their recent transactions with the Indians. Whether the eagerness to extinguish the Indian title has not, in some cases, been in advance of sound policy, indicating a spirit of inordinate ambition or of restless speculation, is a point on which opinions will differ. But President Jackson seems to admit, that the claims of justice have not been altogether respected by his predecessors, in pushing the boundaries of New States so far westward, as to include, by anticipation, territories, the title of which remains still unextinguished.*

We return to Mr. Hodgson, whom we left in the Chickasaw territory. In the next day's journey, he crossed the last waters which fall into the Tombekbee, and some little streams which, taking an opposite direction, join the Tennessee. He also passed the boundary line between Mississippi and Alabama; soon after which, the country became more hilly, and muddy streams were exchanged for pebbly brooks. After crossing Bear Creek, a "beautiful and romantic river," he fairly emerged from the forests, and, from the summit of a hill, obtained the novel and inspiring view of an extensive range of broken country, amid which

have been ceded to the United States, in consideration of specified presents and annuities. The tract is said to be rich in lead ore, well watered, and, in climate and soil, not excelled by any part of the United States.—Galena Advertiser.—(*Times*, Oct. 6, 1829.)

* The humane sentiments in the President's message, respecting the Indians, are the more remarkable as ostensibly proceeding from a man who distinguished himself in early life, by his ruthless severities towards the hostile tribes of Louisiana and Florida. It would seem as if, in his old age, General Jackson was anxious to redeem his character from the stains which his lawless and sanguinary proceedings have left upon it. The metamorphosis he is said to have undergone is extraordinary.

a river wound its course,—unenlivened, however, by a trace of animated existence, except a solitary cabin with its patch of maize,—a boundless solitude. Still, the contrast, after travelling for many days amid the recesses of thick woods, imparted a sensation of cheerfulness. "Not," says our Traveller, "that we were tired of the wilderness. The fragrance of the woods, which enveloped us in a cool shade, and the melody of their warbling tenants, regaled the senses with a perpetual feast; while the gambols of the squirrels, the cooing of the doves, the variety of large snakes which often crossed our path, birds with the richest plumage, and, above all, the magnificent forest trees, which here attain their largest growth, presented an unfailing succession of objects to interest and amuse us. The delicious climate also of the State of Mississippi, gave to the morning and evening hours an ethereal charm, which those who have a lively perception of nature's charms, will understand."

At Big Spring, a little village of log-cabins, on a beautiful stream, our Traveller passed from the Chickasaw territory into the White settlements, cutting the military road from New Orleans to Nashville. The next day, he crossed the Tennessee, just above the shoals, where it is half a mile broad, overhung with beautiful trees, and studded with wooded islands. Where it expands towards the shoals, it reminded him of our Cumberland lakes. Steam-boats ascend from New Orleans to the shoals. On the following day, passing through Athens, a town of twenty or thirty log-cabins, and Cambridge, a village of four or five, he reached Huntsville, a town of somewhat older date and full of stores, situated near the foot of the spurs of the Cumberland mountain. Here he was in the high road to Knoxville, which is "really a road," and

in a few miles he crossed into the State of Tennessee. The Cumberland mountain, over which his route now led him, resembles some of the more tame of our Cumberland moors, except that it is covered with wood: its declivities are very steep and rocky.* Crossing the Sequotchy and Tennessee rivers, he entered the Cherokee territory, in the State of Georgia, and again found himself in a mountainous region, amid the most magnificent scenery he had yet seen in America. At the foot of the Look-out mountain, he met with a hospitable reception at the house of a Scotch Highlander, who had married a Cherokee, and was living "very much like a gentleman." Here, our Traveller found a good library, maps, and newspapers, both American and English. The daughters were pleasing, well-behaved girls, who had been educated at distant boarding-schools; and the father, from his manners and information, might have been supposed to have been spending the preceding twenty years in England or Scotland, instead of among the Cherokees. Six miles further through the woods, led our Traveller to the Missionary station of Brainerd, situated on the Chickamaugah creek, a branch of the Tennessee.

This interesting establishment was founded in 1817, by the Missionaries who afterwards went on to Elliot. At the time of Mr. Hodgson's visit, the number of Cherokee children under instruction amounted to 80, besides two little Osage Indians, who had been rescued from captivity. He was much gratified by hearing the children sing their Cherokee hymns. There are now eight stations among the Cherokees east of the Mississippi, which are superintended by four mission-

* The Cumberland mountains run from S. W. to N. E. through the centre of the State, dividing it into East and West Tennessee.

aries and eighteen other teachers.* The native communicants amounted, in 1828, to 150. "Of the scholars, 174 in number, above 100 reside in the mission families, perform various kinds of labour, and are trained up like the children of Christian parents. About 250 have left the school at Brainerd, most of them having made considerable advances in knowledge. The parents manifest an increasing desire to have their children instructed, and the number of boarding scholars might be enlarged to almost any extent. In some places, nearly all the adult population, and in the tribe at large, more than one half, are actually capable of reading their own language in their own peculiar character; having learned from small manuscripts, and without ever having become acquainted with any other alphabet, or possessed a single page of a printed book in any language."† There is now a Cherokee press; and "the Cherokee Phœnix," a weekly paper, was commenced in February 1828. School-books and tracts in the language were in course of preparation by the missionaries. At Brainerd, there are a grist-mill, a saw-mill, and a blacksmith's shop, which are of great use to the natives. A large proportion of these Indians dress much better than formerly. Many of the women spin and weave cotton, and thus furnish cloth for very decent garments of their own manufacture.

The present numbers of the Cherokees‡ do not

* Among the Cherokees of the Arkansas, west of the Mississippi, there are also two stations; Dwight, begun in 1820; and Mulberry, begun in 1828. There are two missionaries and eight other labourers, under the Board of Missions. Besides these, the Moravians and the Baptists have also missionary stations among the Cherokees.

† Miss. Reg., 1829.

‡ Their proper name, M. Duponceau says, is *Chelokees*, (their

appear to be correctly ascertained, but are estimated at about 9000. The proportion of half-breeds is greater than in any other Indian tribe, so that they may be regarded as a sort of link between the civilized and the uncivilized nations.

At the distance of seven miles from Brainerd, Mr. Hodgson passed the Cherokee boundary, by once more crossing the Tennessee river, and bade a final adieu to the Indian territory. His subsequent route led him up the beautiful valley between that river and the Cumberland mountain,* to the confluence (at Kingston) of the Holstein and the Clinch rivers, by which the Tennessee is formed. The mountain scenery in this part is described as magnificent. Knoxville is beautifully situated on the northern bank of the Holstein, 22 miles above this confluence. It is the seat of the supreme district-court for East Tennessee, and contains a bank, a college, two churches, 400 houses, and 2500 inhabitants.† Ascending the valley of the Holstein, our Traveller, in four days more, entered the borders of Virginia; and proceeding through a country romantically beautiful, crossed the head-waters of that river into a tract almost entirely settled by Germans from Pennsylvania. He was, in this route, insensibly ascending the Alleghany range, on the top of which he found the first turnpike-gate he had seen for many months. A long and steep descent led down into the valley of the winding Roanoke; whence he passed into that of the Shenandoah, and reached Rich-

language wanting the R,) with the second syllable long and accented. It is so they call themselves.

* At a comfortable inn in this valley, Mr. Hodgson found, among other books belonging to the son of the landlord, Homer, Ovid, Virgil, Cicero, Dugald Stewart, Adam Smith, Ferguson's Astronomy, and Rees's Cyclopedia.

† Americans as they are, p. 102.

mond by the route of Waynesborough and Rock-fish Gap, already described. The whole journey from Natchez to Richmond, was about 1250 miles.

TENNESSEE.

THE territory which forms the State of Tennessee, was originally part of North Carolina; as Kentucky was the back country of Virginia. We have, therefore, followed Malte Brun in ranking them with the Southern States, although they rather belong to the western country, being geographically connected with the basin of the Ohio.* The Tennessee river, which is formed by several branches rising in Virginia and the Carolinas, flows from Knoxville (in East Tennessee) in a south-westerly direction, as far as latitude 34° 30′, in the State of Alabama. It there makes a very singular bend to the westward; and after running in that direction (inclining to N. W.) for about 150 miles, assumes a northerly course, passing through the States of Tennessee and Kentucky, and falling into the Ohio, twelve miles below the mouth of the Cumberland.† The latter river has a course not very dissimilar. Rising in the Cumberland mountains, it winds south-westward as far as Nashville in Tennessee, where it begins to form a circular bend, return-

* When first separated from North Carolina, in 1790, Tennessee was designated as "the Territory of the United States south of the Ohio."

† Ten-assee, the Indian name of the river, which has become that of the State also, is said to signify a curved spoon, in allusion to the remarkable curvature in its course, which has been compared to the letter V, but, according to the map, not very happily. There is a talk of connecting it with some of the navigable waters of the Tombekbee, which would shorten the distance to the Gulf more than one half.

ing through Kentucky to fall into the Ohio, 60 miles from its mouth. It is 600 miles long, and navigable by boats of 15 tons 500 miles. The Tennessee is navigable at all seasons to the Muscle Shoals, a distance of 250 miles from its mouth.

The State of Tennessee is considered altogether as a rich and fertile country. The middle part is by far the best, the eastern partaking more of the sandy character of North Carolina, and the western, of the marshes of the Mississippi Valley. The inhabitants are chiefly descendants of emigrants from North Carolina, and bear the character of being liberal, generous, and hospitable. "There is no State in the Union," it has been asserted, "where slavery has had less pernicious effects upon the character of the people." * Several foreigners, settled in this State, have attained a high degree of wealth and prosperity. Cotton, tobacco, and flour are the principal exports. The largest town is Nashville, now the capital,† on the southern bank of Cumberland river, to which steamboats of 300 tons can ascend during three months of the year. In 1810, more than one-third of the population of the State was included within a circle of 30 miles round this town. It contains three churches, a court-house, two banks, three printing-offices, a college, and a public library and reading-room, for a population which amounted, in 1825, to 6000. Among the resident inhabitants, recently, was the present President of the United States. The surrounding country is

* Americans as they are, p. 100. The proportion of slaves to the population is about a fifth.

† From 1817 to May 1826, the State capital was Murfreesborough, a village of 1500 inhabitants; but, by a singular deviation from the usual practice, the seat of government has been removed to the principal town, though not so near the centre of the State.

beautiful, cotton-plantations lining the banks of the river, and extending in every direction; but the wealthier inhabitants generally retire, during the summer months, from the stifling heats prevailing on the barren rocks upon which Nashville stands. In general, though the climate is warmer than that of Kentucky, Tennessee is described as one of the most healthy, pleasant, and beautiful States in the Union.*

KENTUCKY.

KENTUCKY, "situated in the central part of the United States, on the table land of the western country, with the Alleghany mountains to the eastward, and the highlands of Tennessee on the south, enjoys a climate not excelled by any part of the United States. In Lexington, near the centre of the State, the heat of summer seldom exceeds 80°, and the cold of winter is seldom below 25°. The average temperature of the year is about 58°. The whole State, below the mountains, rests on an immense bed of limestone, usually about eight feet below the surface. There are, consequently, no swamps or stagnant waters, and the air is, in general, remarkably sweet and pure."† It is exposed, however, to one serious disadvantage. Owing to the cavernous nature of the limestone, the waters of the larger rivers are more diminished, during the

* Carey and Lea. Malte Brun. Americans as they are.

† "Kentucky has not such extensive plains as Ohio, but is equally fertile, and less exposed to bilious fevers and ague. It is, without exaggeration, one of the finest districts on the face of the earth. The climate is equal to that of the south of France. Fruits of every kind arrive at the highest perfection; and it would be difficult to quit this country, did not the character of the inhabitants lessen one's regret at leaving it."—Americans as they are, p. 49.

dry season, than those of any part of the United States, and the small streams entirely disappear. They generally run in very deep channels, which they have worn in the calcareous rock; and the banks of Kentucky River present precipices of limestone 300 feet in height. In the south-western part of the State, between the Cumberland and Green River, there are several extensive natural excavations. The Mammoth Cave is said to be between eight and nine miles in length.

Kentucky is almost insulated by navigable rivers. The Big Sandy forms, during its whole course of nearly 200 miles, the eastern boundary; the Ohio, for more than 600 miles, the northern; and the Mississippi, below its mouth, is the western boundary. Frankfort, the seat of Government, is situated on the eastern bank of Kentucky River, 60 miles above its confluence with the Ohio. Lexington, the largest and wealthiest town in the State, is delightfully situated in a beautiful valley on Town Fork, a small stream which falls into the southern branch of Elkhorn river. It is the seat of a college called Transylvania University; and contained, in 1820, a population of 5279 souls.

The only other town of consequence is Louisville, on the Ohio, immediately above the Rapids, and forming the natural key to its navigation. To this place, Captain Basil Hall ascended from New Orleans in a steam-boat, a voyage of 1430 miles, which formerly occupied "nine weary months of hard rowing and warping; whereas it is now often performed in little more than nine days, or one-thirtieth of the time." Here, we once more rejoin this intelligent Traveller.

It was on the tenth day from New Orleans, that he

reached the confluence of the Ohio with the Mississippi, of which is given the following description. "The Ohio, though not quite clear, was much less muddy than the great stream into which it now merged; and owing to its being swollen considerably, it possessed momentum enough to drive the body of the Mississippi nearly over to the western shore. The difference of colour in the two streams, was thus rendered very conspicuous. The earthy, yellowish-brown of the Mississippi, formed a distinct belt of water on the right bank of the united stream for a mile or two; while on the left, there was a broad strip of dirty bottle-green from the Ohio.

"The intrusion of the Ohio, according to the account of the pilots, sometimes 'dams up' the Mississippi for a distance of 30 miles. This singular effect is produced only when the Ohio is at its height, and the Mississippi comparatively low, and then, I am assured, it literally causes an apparent stagnation of the waters of that mighty stream, for many leagues above the point of confluence. It is not to be supposed, that the Mississippi is slow; to return the compliment when its turn comes to be highest. On these occasions, the Ohio is 'dammed up' for a distance of seventy miles;—a glorious battle between two River Gods!

"The scenery on the Ohio, which we now entered, is beyond all comparison more beautiful than that of the Mississippi, which is generally low, marshy, or rather, to use the local expression, swampy, and very uninteresting; whereas the banks of the Ohio, which rise to the height of several hundred feet, are covered with splendid trees of great altitude and luxuriance of foliage. It was also quite reviving to see once more some patches of cultivation not liable to be flooded; and grassy knolls fenced off for cattle to graze in, with-

out the necessity of perching the wretched animals on scaffolds, as we had seen in many places on the Mississippi. Here and there, even near the mouth of the Ohio, we came to villages resting on solid ground, and shortly afterwards to flourishing towns, worthy of the sea-coast, though buried deep in the back-woods." *

On the thirteenth day,† our Traveller reached the "large and handsome town" of Louisville, where he found the best-ordered hotel he had met with in all America, though the attendants were all slaves. Nothing at this beautiful spot, he says, delighted him more than "the rich, fresh, genuine green-sward, the honest grass," upon which he could sit down with comfort. The trees also round Louisville, he thought incomparably finer than any he had elsewhere seen; especially the sycamores, which are not only taller, but, having plenty of room to spread, attain a growth singularly beautiful. "The various bends or reaches of the magnificent Ohio, at this spot, covered with steam-boats and rafts, and fringed with noble forests and numberless gay villas, add greatly to the enchantment of the scenery at this most interesting station of all the back-woods."‡

Louisville is laid out on a grand scale, the streets running parallel with the river, intersected by others at right angles. In the main street, about three quarters of a mile in length, most of the houses are three stories high. The number of dwelling-houses

* Basil Hall, vol. iii., pp. 369—371.

† There is apparently some mistake in dates, as the Author speaks of having been only eleven days and nights in the steam-boat.

‡ Bas. Hall, vol. iii., p. 35. The canal recently cut round the Rapids, is described by this Traveller as a magnificent work. Steamers can now proceed to the Upper Ohio at all seasons.

amounted, in 1826, to 700, and the resident population to 4500, exclusive of travellers and boatmen. There are no public edifices worth notice. The court-house and the Presbyterian church are the best. There are also an Episcopal church, a Roman Catholic, and a Unitarian chapel; three banks; an insurance company; and four newspaper printing offices. The distilleries and rope-walks are on a large scale; besides which, there are manufactories of soap, candle, cotton, glass, and paper, with grist and saw-mills. Luxury is here carried to a higher pitch than in any other town west of the Alleghanies; and the only billiard-table between Philadelphia and St. Louis, is to be found at Louisburg, the owner of which has to pay a tax of 563 dollars. There is an academy, but the principal families send their youth to the college of Bairdstown, 30 miles S. W., to receive instructions from some French priests. The general state of society may be inferred from these details.

The Kentuckian seems to present, in fact, the most unfavourable specimen of the American. "The inhabitants consist chiefly of emigrants from Virginia and the Carolinas, and of descendants from backwood settlers, a proud, fierce, and overbearing set of people. They established themselves under a state of continual warfare with the Indians, who took their revenge by communicatiug to their vanquishers their cruel and implacable spirit. This is their principal feature. A Kentuckian will wait three or four weeks in the woods, for the moment of satiating his revenge; and he seldom or never forgives. The men are of an athletic form, and there may be found among them some models of true masculine beauty.....Passions must work with double power and effect, where wealth

and arbitrary sway over a herd of slaves, and a warfare of thirty years with savages, have sown the seeds of the most lawless arrogance and an untameable spirit of revenge.....A still worse feature observable in them, is, an utter disregard of religious principles. Ohio has its sects, thereby evincing an interest in the performance of the highest of human duties. The Kentuckian rails at these, and at every form of worship; a trait doubly deplorable in a rising State." *

Darkly shaded as this picture is, there is too good reason to believe that it is entirely just. It is not meant, that no exceptions occur; but the population generally, if they may lay claim to the praise of being "brave, frank, and hospitable," must be stigmatised as, at the same time, coarse and licentious, ignorant, brutally irreligious and profane, vindictive and ferocious. "The state of education" in this State, M. Malte Brun remarks, "is *rather* backward; and that of religion not much better. The Kentuckians, possessing a sanguine, speculative spirit, were deeply infected with the passion for banking, which spread like an epidemic frenzy throughout the United States some years ago. Not fewer than fifty-four banks were incorporated between 1807 and 1819, in a district containing only half a million of inhabitants. These establishments, after inundating the State with a fictitious paper currency, became nearly all insolvent, and produced incalculable distress and confusion through the country." † Another marked feature in their political history is, the violent oppo-

* Americans as they are, pp. 50—52. The North American Reviewers, in noticing this volume, regret that there should be *occasion* for the Writer's feelings towards the Kentuckians; a sufficiently intelligible admission.

† Malte Brun, vol. v. pp. 199, 200.

sition raised in Kentucky against the measures of Mr. Adams's administration, and their strong attachment to his successor. The war declared, in 1812, against England, was hailed with acclamations in Kentucky, and supported with ferocious zeal. The whole *quota* of the State was called into actual service; and, at one time, upwards of 7000 Kentuckians are said to have been in the field.* Of their military achievements, history is silent. When we add, that these republicans *par excellence*, (but of the French school, in politics as in religion,) retain among them nearly 170,000 slaves, being nearly a fourth of the population of the State, we shall have adduced facts sufficient to warrant the representation that has been cited, and to account for the proverbial imputation of brutality which attaches to the name of the Kentuckian.†

The rapidity of the growth of this State, in numbers, will only in part account for the moral condition of the population. "Eleven years ago," says Morse, in 1789, "Kentucky lay in forest, almost uninhabited but by wild beasts. Now, notwithstanding the united opposition of almost all the western Indians, she exhibits an extensive settlement, divided into seven large and populous counties, in which are a number of flourishing little towns, containing more inhabit-

* Carey and Lea, p. 253.

† See Americans as they are," p. 143. Lieut. F. Hall represents the Kentuckians as "the Irishmen of the United States," (no compliment to the latter,) "hospitable and open-hearted, but boisterous and addicted to those vulgar and even brutal amusements which were once common in Virginia,"—that is to say, "coarse debauchery." F. Hall, p. 356. This Traveller is apparently anxious to make the best apology for these staunch republicans; forgetting that the Irish, with whom he compares them, are not slave-proprietors, have at least a desire after learning, and are not addicted to *gouging*.

ants than are in Georgia, Delaware, or Rhode Island States, and nearly as many as in New Hampshire."* Upwards of 20,000 persons migrated to Kentucky in 1787; and its population, estimated, in 1784, at only about 30,000, had risen, in 1792, to 100,000. In 1800, it was upwards of 220,000; in 1810, 406,511; in 1826, 564,313; and in 1828, stood at 691,397. This rate of increase, or rather transfer of population, has, however, been far exceeded in the instances of Alabama and Mississippi, as well as in the

WESTERN STATES.

OHIO, Indiana, and Illinois, the three Western States east of the Mississippi, occupy the vast area extending from the confines of Pennsylvania to that river, and from the extremity of Lakes Erie and Michigan to Kentucky; comprising a surface of 134,250 square miles; peopled, in 1828, by about 1,109,000 inhabitants, including 1764 slaves. In the year 1790, the total population was only about 3000 souls. About one fourth of the State of Ohio declines to the northern Lakes; the other three fourths to the basin of the Ohio. The surface of the former, or northern part, is, for the most part, flat, and often marshy;† that of the remainder is rolling and uneven, beautifully diversified with round-topped hills, covered with a fertile soil, which bears a rich growth of wood. The climate is temperate, and less variable than that of the eastern or southern States; and as slavery does not here exert its demoralizing influence

* Morse, p. 408.

† The height of land which divides the waters of the Ohio from those of Lake Erie, is the most marshy of any of the State.—Carey and Lea.

upon society, (being abolished by law,) it presents altogether, in its natural and political advantages, a more inviting and eligible country for agricultural settlers, than, perhaps, any other part of the western territories.* Prairies, or large tracts of ground naturally destitute of wood, and ready for the husbandman, abound in this State, as well as in Indiana and Illinois; being supposed to occupy three fourths of the surface. The produce of the northern part of the State is sent to New York by the Erie Canal; that of the southern, down the Mississippi to New Orleans. The middle part has suffered inconvenience hitherto from the want of a water communication; but this will be remedied by the canal which is to unite the Ohio with Lake Erie, and, by this means, the waters of the Hudson and the Mississippi. Of the general condition of the country, the Author of the "Americans as they are," draws a picture as pleasing, as his representation of the state of things in Kentucky is dark and repulsive.

"In Ohio," says this Writer, "wealth is not accumulated in one place, or in a few hands; it is visibly diffused over the whole community. The farms and country houses are elegant. They are generally of brick, sometimes of wood, and built in a tasteful style. It is astonishing to see what has been done during a few years, and under an increasing scarcity of money, by the mere dint of industry. The

* The average produce of the farming lands in the basin of the Ohio, generally, are, of Indian corn, 40 bushels per acre; wheat, 22; rye, 26; oats, 35; barley, 30; tobacco, from 12 to 15 cwt.; and cotton, from 5 to 7 cwt. The last two are cultivated only in the south-westerly region, and oats and barley in the upper or north-easterly parts.—James's Rocky Mountains, vol. iii. pp. 200, 220.

traveller will seldom have reason to rail at bad roads or bad taverns.....The whole State bespeaks a wealthy condition, which, far removed from riches, rests on the surest foundation,—the fertility of the soil, and the persevering industry of its cultivators. Although behind-hand, perhaps, with the Yankees in literary accomplishments, they are far more liberal and intelligent.....The inhabitants of Ohio are not, however, so religious as their neighbours, the Pennsylvanians. Their ministers exercise little influence, and numerous sects contribute greatly to lessen their authority. The people of Ohio are equally free from the uncultivated and rude character of the Western American, and from the innate wiliness of the Yankees." *

This Writer's ideas of the Yankees appear to have been picked up in the South, and not to be derived from an acquaintance with the inhabitants of New England. On this point, therefore, his testimony is not to be relied upon; and, in fact, the character of the Ohions, the North American Reviewers assert, is "the Yankee character under varied circumstances, and modified by extraneous admixtures." The larger part of the population have actually emigrated from New England, New York, and New Jersey, Pennsylvania, and Great Britain. The Presbyterians form the most numerous sect, and next to them, the Methodists; but the Quakers are numerous both in this State and in Indiana. One section, or thirty-sixth part of every township, has been set apart by the State

* "Americans as they are," pp. 14—17. We have omitted in this citation, some sentences of encomium, which the North American Reviewers admit to be somewhat overcharged. The roads are not at all seasons in the best order; the inns are not always the most elegant; nor are the towns superior to those of New York and New England.

Legislature for the support of schools; and education is very generally attended to. There are two infant colleges at Athens and Oxford! the former styled the Ohio University; the latter, the Miami University.

The eldest town in the State is Marietta, (so named by its Yankee founders from the unfortunate Marie Antoinette of France!) badly situated on ground liable to inundation, at the mouth of the Muskingum. Columbus, the present seat of Government, is "regularly laid out" on the eastern bank of the Scioto, just below the confluence of the Whetstone. The largest town in the State, and the only one of importance, bears the *classic* name of Cincinnati! * For the first six years of the existence of this State, it was the seat of the Legislature.

In 1780, the spot where now stands one of the prettiest towns in the Union, was a native forest. In that year, the first attempt was made at forming a settlement there, by erecting a block-house, which was subsequently enlarged, and was called Fort Washington. It was not till after the year 1794, however, that the infant town of Cincinnati, having been made the seat of the territorial government, began to attract to itself the eastern population. In 1805, the population was only 500. Five years after, it contained 2540 inhabitants; in 1820, 9733; in 1826, upwards of 12,000; in 1828, 18,000! The town is well situated on the Ohio, twenty miles above the mouth of the great Miami, near the south-western corner of the State. The river is here about a mile wide, forming a crescent. The streets are regular, broad, and mostly

* In allusion, probably, to "the *almost* noble society" which ...d that name.

well paved, and many of the houses are very handsome. Among the public buildings, the court-house is constructed in an extremely simple, but noble style; and the Episcopalian, the Roman Catholic, and the Presbyterian churches, the Academy, and the United States' Bank, are handsome buildings. Besides these, there are churches for Presbyterians, Lutherans, Methodists, Baptists, Swedenborgians, and Unitarians; three other banks; a Lancasterian school; a reading-room with a well provided library; a theatre; five newspaper printing-offices; and a variety of manufacturing establishments, chiefly carried on by steam-engines.

Hitherto, the whole produce of the State has been brought to Cincinnati, and shipped for New Orleans by way of Louisville, distant 115 miles; * but, as none of the projected canals will come up as far as this town, they will probably have the effect of diverting a considerable proportion of its trade, if not of its population.† Favoured, however, by its coal-mines, its water-communication, and the cheapness of the necessaries of life, it bids fair to maintain its rank as one of the first manufacturing towns in the Union.

Captain Basil Hall speaks of the society in this town as very agreeable and kind. It probably resembles, in its general characteristics, that of the larger cities in the northern States; though, if we may believe the Author of the above description, with less formality, mannerism, and religious narrowness than in the eastern sea-ports. "Freedom of thought pre-

* The voyage to Louisville is performed by the steamers in 12 hours, and back again in 20 hours.

† The produce exported consists of flour, corn, whisky, salt, hams and pork, beef, and fruits. Wheat is the principal production of the State.

vails in a high degree;" by which may be understood great latitude of opinion.*

Below Cincinnati begins the State of Indiana, running down the Big Miami westward to the Big Wabash, which separates it from Illinois. It exhibits nearly the same features as Ohio, except that it declines in elevation, being the second stage of the slope from the Alleghanies to the Mississippi. Though not inferior to Ohio in fertility, it lies under the serious disadvantage of a deficiency of water communication; there being no river of any importance in the State, except the Ohio, which forms its southern boundary. Its original population was by no means equally respectable with that of the State just described. The north-western part was peopled by French emigrants from Canada, and the southern, by Kentuckians who fled their country for debt or other causes. The State has thus been the refuge of adventurers and idlers of all descriptions. Numbers of Germans, French, and Irish, are scattered in the towns and over the country, carrying on the business of bakers, grocers, *store*-keepers, &c. The northern part of the State is partly occupied by Indian tribes, whose numbers are estimated at between seven and eight thousand, and has been but imperfectly explored. Many of the Canadian French, by whom Vincennes, the largest town in the State, was originally settled, have intermarried with the natives, and gradually approximated to the savage state. Captain Basil Hall, who

* Some years ago, when the inhabitants of Cincinnati amounted to about 6000, they included settlers of the following descriptions. From New England, 441; Pennsylvania, 394; New Jersey, 337; New York, 233; England, 192; Ireland, 173; Virginia, 113; Germany, 62; Scotland, 39; Wales, 21; France, 19; Switzerland, 17.—North American Review, No. lxi. p. 419.

traversed this State, merely speaks of the country as hilly, the roads as execrable, and the people as "cold and gruff," though not positively uncivil. On the Wabash, the finest part of the State, some settlers of a more respectable character from the east, have planted themselves.

Illinois is, in point of commerce, more advantageously situated than any of the Western States. It forms the last slope of the northern valley of the Mississippi. The fertility of the soil surpasses that of either Indiana or Ohio. Wheat thrives on the high lands; the soil of the valleys is too rich. Tobacco, if well managed, is found to be superior to that of Virginia and Kentucky. Rice and indigo grow wild. The timber is of colossal magnitude. Sycamores and cotton-trees of immense height, walnut-trees, pecan-trees, honey-locust-trees, and maples cover the rich bottom lands, while two thirds of the surface (or about 1,200,000 acres) are occupied by extensive and fertile prairies.*

"The country," remarks this Writer, "is complained of as being sickly. There is no doubt that a State which abounds in rivers, marshes, and ponds, must be subject to epidemic diseases; but, the climate being temperate, the fault lies very much with the settlers themselves. The settler who chooses for his

* The most fertile lands are the bottoms along the Mississippi, the Illinois, and the Big and Little Wabash. The "solid class of inhabitants" live on the latter two rivers, and between them and the Illinois. Towards the north, on the banks of the Mississippi, the settlers are generally descended from Canadian French by Indian mothers;—"a light-footed kind of people, who from their fathers have inherited frivolity, and from their mothers uncleanliness. Kaskakia, Cahokia, and several villages towards the Prairie des Chiens, owe their origin to them."

dwelling-house a spot on an eminence, * and far from the marshes, taking at the same time the necessary precautions in point of dress, cleanliness, and the choice of victuals and beverage, may live without fear in these countries. The greater part, however, of the new-comers and inhabitants, live upon milk † or stagnant water taken from the first pond they meet with on their way, with a few slices of bacon. Their wardrobe consists of a single shirt, which is worn till it falls to pieces. It cannot, therefore, be matter of astonishment, if agues and bilious fevers spread over the country; and even in this case, a quart of corn brandy is their prescription. This being the general mode of living, and we may add, of dying, among the lower classes, disease must necessarily spread its ravages with more rapidity.

"Illinois has now 80,000" (it has since risen to 85,000) "inhabitants, 1500 of whom are people of colour. The rest are Americans, English, and French, and there is a German settlement about Vandalia.‡ In the year 1824, the question was again brought forward concerning the possession of slaves: it was, however, negatived, and it is to be hoped, will never be pressed upon the people. The State is much in-

* An important remark, however, is made by the North American Reviewers respecting the Valley of the Mississippi. "We are struck with one fact, rather contrary to expectation, that all the inhabitants whom we questioned, from the mouth of the Ohio downward, were agreed in this; that the most healthy spots were on the margin of the river, and the most unhealthy, the knolls and elevated hills, whether back or near the river."—North Amer. Review, lxl. p. 430.

† The aversion of the Indians to milk, remarked by Humboldt, originates, most probably, in experience. See James, vol. i. p. 77. Mod. Trav., Brazil, vol. ii. p. 218.

‡ Now the seat of the State government.

debted in every point to the late Mr. Birkbeck, who died too soon for the welfare of his adopted country. He was considered as the father of the State; and whenever he could gain over a useful citizen, he spared no expense, and sacrificed a considerable part of his property in this manner. The people of Illinois, in acknowledgement of his services, had chosen him for secretary of the State, which office he held at his death in 1825. He was generally known under the name of Emperor of the Prairies, from the vast extent of natural meadows belonging to his lands." *

On the Big Wabash, about 30 miles above its mouth, but on the Indiana side, is the singular settlement of Harmony, originally established by "Father Rapp," a Swabian heresiarch, in 1817; and purchased, in 1823, by the equally famous Mr. Owen of Lanark, for the sum of 150,000 dollars. We waive the description of this Utopia, having neither room nor inclination to discuss the merits or demerits of this gentleman's chimerical schemes; but it is justly remarked, that "Great Britain has no cause to envy the United States this acquisition." †

One State remains to be described,—the only one that has at present been organized beyond the Mississippi,—that of

* Americans as they are, pp. 86—90. "Some of these singular places (the prairies) are nearly level; others have a gently swelling or rolling surface. The Grand Prairie of Illinois has specimens of both kinds, but its general character is level, with a few clumps of trees, and these far between. The resemblance to the sea which some of the prairies exhibit, is really most singular."—B. Hall, vol. iii. p. 385.

† See "Americans as they are," pp. 66—71. Some valuable remarks on Birkbeck's settlement, and on the advantages the Western States hold out to emigrants, will be found in Hodgson, vol. ii. pp. 64—88, and James, vol. iii. pp. 200—209.

MISSOURI

THIS State, the largest except Virginia, was received into the Federal Union in 1821, and, to the deep disgrace of the Congress, as a slave-holding State. The territory lies on both sides of the river of the same name. Its surface is rolling or hilly in the northern part, and slopes considerably towards the south, where it is crossed by the Ozark mountains. It contains less wood than Illinois, and the soil is said to be generally less fertile; although the bottom lands along the Mississippi and the Missouri are very rich. The prairies occupy "at least nineteen twentieths of the surface." For many miles on each side of the Missouri, the prairies afford abundance of good pasturage; but the best soil is found along the right bank, from ten to twelve miles in breadth. In the summer, very little water is to be found in the prairies, all the smaller streams failing, although the season be not unusually dry; and on account of the deficiency both of wood and water, Dr. James says, the settlements will be for a long time confined to the immediate valleys of the Missouri, the Konzas, and the larger rivers. The immediate valley of the Missouri preserves great uniformity of breadth, and is bounded on both sides by chains of rocky bluffs, rising from one to a hundred feet above the valley, and separating it from those vast woodless plains which overspread so great a part of the country.*

In the south-eastern part of the State, there is a district 70 miles in length by 45 in breadth, contain-

* James, vol. i. p. 131; *Ib.*, p. 81; and vol. iii. pp. 109—222. To this interesting work, we must refer our readers for the best description of the territory west of the Mississippi that has yet appeared.

ing the richest lead mines, it is supposed, on the face of the globe. The number of mines now worked, is 165, in which more than 1100 men are employed, and the annual produce has been about 3,000,000 lbs. *

Captain Basil Hall penetrated almost to the extreme frontier of the civilized settlements. Embarking once more in a steam-boat at Louisville, he descended the Ohio to the Mississippi, and then ascended the latter river to St. Louis, picturesquely situated on the right bank, 170 miles above the mouth of the Ohio, and 13 below that of the Missouri. This town was founded by some French traders in 1764. It extends for about two miles along the river, in three parallel streets, rising above each other in terraces, on a *stratum* of limestone. The houses are, for the most part, built of this material, and are surrounded with gardens. The number of inhabitants is about 5000. The principal public buildings are, a Roman Catholic and two Protestant churches, the court-house, the government-house, an academy, and a theatre. There are two banks, two printing-offices, and "an abundance of coffee-shops, billiard-tables, and dancing-rooms." St. Louis is, in fact, described as "a sort of New Orleans on a smaller scale."

"The French are seen engaged in the same amusements and passions that formerly characterized the Creoles of Louisiana; with the exception, that the trade with the Indians has given to the French backwoodsmen of St. Louis, a rather malicious and dishonest turn; a fault from which the Creoles of Louisiana are free, owing to the greater respectability of their visiters and settlers, from Europe and from the north of the Union. The majority of the inhabitants

* Carey and Lea's Atlas.

of this town, as well as of the State, consists of people descended from the French, of Kentuckians, and foreigners of every description,—Germans, Spaniards, Italians, Irish, &c. Kentucky manners are fashionable. Not long before my arrival, there occurred a specimen of this, in an open assault and duel between two individuals in the public street. For the last five years, men of property and respectability, attracted by the superior advantages of the situation, have settled at St. Louis; and their example and influence have been conducive of some good to public morals.

"The enterprising spirit of the Americans is remarkable in this State. Within the twenty-three years that have elapsed since the cession of this country (part of the former Louisiana) to the Union, much more has been achieved in every point of view, than during the sixty years preceding, when it was in possession of France and Spain. Streets, villages, settlements, towns, and farms, have sprung up in every direction; the population has augmented from 20,000 to 84,000 inhabitants; and if they are not superior in wealth to their neighbours, it is certainly to be attributed to their want of industry, and to their passing the greater part of their time in grog-shops, or in dancing-companies, according to the prevailing custom. Slavery, which is introduced here, though so ill adapted to a northern State, contributes not a little to the aristocratic notions of the people; the least of whom, if he can call himself the master of one slave, would be ashamed to put his hand to any work. Still, there is more ready money among the inhabitants, than in any of the western States; and prices are demanded accordingly. Cattle that fetch in Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Indiana, ten dollars per head, are sold in Missouri for twenty-five dollars; and so in proportion. The

country about St. Louis to the north, south, and west, consists of prairies, extending fifteen miles in every direction, with some very handsome farm-houses, and numerous herds of cattle." *

The junction of the Missouri with the Mississippi, is thus described by Captain Basil Hall.

"The most striking circumstance observable at this confluence, is the difference in the colour and purity of the two rivers. The Missouri is nearly as thick as pea-soup, of a dirty, muddy, whitish colour; while the Mississippi, above the confluence, is of a clear light blue, not unlike that of the deep sea, or the Rhone at Geneva. At some places, it looked like the Tweed, when it has got a slight tinge of the moors; but when a glass of it was taken up, it always appeared as clear as any spring water. If a glass of the Missouri was, however, dipped up in like manner, it was perfectly turbid, worse than the rain puddles on a highway road, and in a few minutes a stratum of mud was formed in the bottom of the tumbler. The surface of the Mississippi, above the confluence, was clear of drift wood, while that of its companion was all covered over with half-burnt logs, trees with their branches torn off, and great rafts or floating islands of timber, drifted from the interior, sweeping and swirling along at a furious rate.

"The Missouri enters the Mississippi from the westward, nearly at right angles to it; and such is the impetuosity of its current, that it fairly drives the Mississippi over to the left or eastern bank. There were literally not above ten or twelve yards of clear water on that side of the river, while all the rest was muddy. The line of actual contact was particularly

* "Americans as they are," pp. 94—96. In 1828, the population of Missouri had risen to 106,200, including nearly 21,000 slaves.

fore, no permanent habitation had been established. Fort Osage, about 140 miles higher up, was, at the period of the Expedition, the extreme frontier post, and, we believe, remains so for the present.

There is something very extraordinary in the strong and seemingly irresistible impulse which is bearing the American population westward. A passion for migration prevails, quite apart from the mania of speculation or the desire of gain. In the inhabitants of the New States and Territories more especially, there is "a propensity to remove westward, for which," Dr. James admits, "it is not easy to account." * By the habit of frequent migration, it may indeed be well understood, how a fondness is acquired for an adventurous, unsettled life. But this love of the Backwoods seems native to the American, and may justly be termed a national passion. It has clearly its seat in the imagination; the result, in part, of an habitual familiarity with geographical ideas, and of associating those ideas with political magnitude. From the interest which every American takes in his Government, he connects a feeling of personal importance and conscious power with the extension of its territorial domain; and he expatiates in the boundless range with all the pride of freedom. What poetry and romance are to more refined spirits, the wilder-

* "A settler on the Missouri observed to us, that the land he at present occupied, was not better than that he had left in Tennessee; but he did not wish to spend all his life in one place; and he had learned from experience, that a man might live in greater ease and freedom where his neighbours were not very numerous. A person upwards of sixty years old, who had recently arrived at one of the highest settlements of the Missouri, inquired of us very particularly of the river Platte, and of the quality of the lands about its source. We discovered, that he had the most serious intention of removing with his family to that river."—James, vol. i. p. 98.

ness is to him,—an abstract region to which he can escape from the littleness and narrowness of the present, and find an ample field for the indefinite rovings of his mind. Geography exercises over his imagination the power of the fine arts; and to his eye, the map glows with all the richest colours of the canvass. The west is the site of futurity, and he travels in that direction in pursuit of it. That this is no exaggeration, will appear from the language of Americans themselves. "The solitude and silence which reign in the colossal forests of the Missouri," remarks one of their ablest writers, "strongly impress a meditative mind. But it is association, imagination,—it is history, prophecy, that imparts to this spot a thrilling interest, for every American. We have no remembrances like those which cluster about York Minster. England has no anticipations like those awakened at the junction of the Ohio with the Mississippi." * With those anticipations, are no unwelcome apprehensions ever blended?

* N. Amer. Rev. No. lxi. p. 426.

END OF THE UNITED STATES.

BRITISH AMERICA.

THE British possessions in North America comprise the whole of the territory north of the United States, with the exception of the Russian settlements on the north-west coast. The only settled countries, however, are the Canadas, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland.

The last-mentioned possession is the oldest British settlement. It was first visited by Sebastian Cabot in 1502, who carried several of the natives to England, and presented them to Henry VII. Sir Humphrey Gilbert, in 1583, took formal possession of the Island in the name of the Queen of England. It subsequently became an object of contention between this country and France; but, at length, was entirely ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht in 1713.

Newfoundland derives all its importance from the valuable cod-fisheries carried on upon its shores, and upon the banks which lie to the south-east of the island.* The interior, which has never been completely explored, is, for the most part, barren and

* The Grand Bank, which is described as a huge mountain under water, 100 miles from the south-eastern extremity of the island, is about 330 miles in length, and 75 in breadth. The depth of water upon it, varies from 15 to 60 fathoms. Not less than 3000 sail of small craft, belonging principally to Great Britain and the United States, have been annually employed in these fisheries. In 1813, the exports in fish and oil amounted to 1,100,000*l.* sterling.

mountainous, covered with vast forests of pine, which afford shelter to a great many wolves, deer, foxes, and bears.* The rivers and lakes abound with salmon, beavers, otters, and other amphibious animals. The British settlements are confined to the harbours and the shores of the bays. The population is very fluctuating, depending entirely on the state of the fisheries. In 1813, when they were most prosperous, it amounted to nearly 70,000.† St. John's, the capital, on the south-eastern coast, contained, in 1815, about 12,000 inhabitants. There are a few cattle, which occasionally find good pasturage in the glades, and some vegetables are raised; but the provisions and other necessaries are almost entirely imported from Great Britain and North America. The climate is exceedingly cold in winter, and the bays and harbours are then entirely frozen. The coasts are at all times subject to fogs, attended with continual storms of sleet and snow, the sky being usually overcast.‡ The island is 381 miles

* The Newfoundland dog is supposed to be a breed originally produced from an English dog and a native she-wolf; as the animal is ascertained not to have existed at the time of the first settlers.—Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 142.

† "This island," says M. Malte Brun, "which was so long considered the inhospitable residence of fishermen, has, within a few years, doubled its population and industry. The towns of Placentia and St. John, since their embellishment and extension, have assumed a European aspect. The population of Newfoundland was estimated, in 1789, at 25,000 inhabitants; it contains at present 75,000 souls. The predictions of Whitbourne and Gilbert have been verified, and the activity of the British nation has added another fine colony to the civilized world."—Malte Brun, vol. v. p. 142.

‡ These fogs are supposed to be produced by the currents that flow from the Antilles, and which, retaining a great portion of the heat imbibed in the tropical regions, are from 15° to 20° warmer than the surrounding water at the banks of Newfoundland. Hence, when the temperature of the atmosphere is colder than that of the currents, a vapour must rise from them.

in length, its breadth varying from 40 to 287 miles, and about 900 miles in circumference. It lies between the parallels of 47° and 52°, and is separated by the straits of Belle-isle from the coast of Labrador.

Nova Scotia, New Brunswick, Prince Edward's Island, and Cape Breton, were all comprehended under the general name of Acadia, which was given by the French to these settlements, where they had established themselves before they had occupied any portion of Canada. In 1621, the French having been previously dislodged, Sir William Alexander obtained a grant of the country by royal patent, from James I., under the name of Nova Scotia. By the treaty of St. Germains, in 1632, Charles I. restored to France, Canada, Nova Scotia, and Cape Breton, which were immediately taken possession of by the French Government; and from that unfortunate treaty may be dated the commencement of a long train of calamities to the country, and the origin of the subsequent provincial disputes. Nova Scotia, neglected by the French, fell again into the hands of the English in 1710, and was formally ceded to Great Britain by the treaty of Utrecht. By that of Aix-la-Chapelle, however, in 1748, Cape Breton was once more restored to the French. At that time, not the slightest progress had been made by the English in the settlement of Nova Scotia, and the British Government seemed to be unaware of the importance of the possession. But other counsels afterwards prevailed, and the conquest of Canada decided the fate of the other provinces. By the treaty of Paris in 1763, France renounced all Nova Scotia, Canada, Cape Breton, and the Islands in the River and Gulf of St. Lawrence.

At that time, the population of Nova Scotia was

estimated at 13,000. In 1772, it had risen to 17,000, exclusive of 2100 Acadians (or French settlers) in Nova Scotia and Cape Breton, and 865 Indians. In 1784, after the peace which established the independence of the United States, the western part of the province was erected into a separate Government, being appropriated to such of the German troops in the service of Great Britain as wished to establish themselves in America; on which account it received the appellation of New Brunswick. Cape Breton was at the same time made a distinct Government, but was, in 1820, re-annexed to Nova Scotia. In 1787, Nova Scotia was erected into an episcopal see, the Rev. Charles Inglis being appointed the first bishop. In 1817, the census of Nova Scotia Proper shewed the population to have risen to 82,053. In 1824, that of New Brunswick was 74,176. In 1828, that of Nova Scotia, exclusive of Cape Breton, was ascertained by census to be 123,848, having increased 41,795 within the preceding ten years. To this we may add, for Cape Breton, 30,000; and taking the population of New Brunswick at 150,000, we shall have a total of about 304,000 as the population of the two provinces.*

Nova Scotia Proper is a peninsula of irregular shape, stretching more than 300 miles from S.W. to N.E., and comprising an area of 15,617 square miles, or 9,994,880 acres. It is connected with the main continent by a narrow isthmus; having, on the north, Northumberland Strait, which separates it from Prince

* For the preceding historical and statistical details, we have been indebted chiefly to the recent work of a Nova Scotian, Haliburton's "Historical and Statistical Account of Nova Scotia," 2 vols. Halifax, 1829. The population of New Brunswick is according to the estimate adopted by Malte Brun.

Edward's Island ; * on the N.E., the Gut of Canseau divides it from Cape Breton ; on the W., the Bay of Fundy runs up between its shores and the coast of New Brunswick ; and on the S. and S.E., it is washed by the Atlantic. It lies between the parallels of 43° and 46°, and between the meridians of 61° and 67°. "The face of the country is agreeably diversified with hills and dales ; but, though undulated, is not mountainous, the summit of the highest hill being not more than 600 feet above the level of the sea. There are several ridges of high land, which generally run N. and S., branching off into irregular and hilly land, terminating sometimes in high cliffs on the coast, and sometimes losing themselves in gentle declivities in the interior. In scenery, therefore, it partakes not of the sublime ; but its numerous and beautiful lakes, its harbours studded with islands, its rivers, brooks, and streams, of which it boasts a great profusion, enliven and embellish the country, naturally picturesque from its variety of highlands and prairies. The appearance of the sea-coast is generally inhospitable, presenting a bold, rocky shore, and a poor and sterile soil, clothed with a thin and stunted growth of birch and spruce. The southern margin is rugged and broken, with very prominent features, deep indents and craggy islands, and ledges inserted in the sea ; either formed by nature to resist the constant attacks of the western ocean, or more probably exposed by its action. The features of the northern coast are soft and free from rocks. The shores are every where indented with

* Originally called St. John's Isle : but, great inconvenience having arisen from the name being common to several places at no great distance, its name was changed in 1799, by an act of the local legislature, to Prince Edward's Island, in honour of H. R. H. the late Duke of Kent.

harbours, rivers, coves, and bays, in most places communicating with the waters of the interior of the country, scarcely any part of which is thirty miles distant from navigation. The most remarkable cliff on the whole coast, is the summit of Aspotagoen, which lies on the promontory that separates Mahone from Margaret's Bay. This land, which is about five hundred feet in perpendicular height, may be discerned at a great distance, and is generally the first object seen in approaching Halifax from Europe or the West Indies.

"The great inequality in the surface of Nova Scotia, is the cause of the existence of numerous lakes, which are scattered over it in every direction. Some of them are of very great extent, and, in many places, form almost a continued chain of water communication across the province. Lake Rossignol, to the westward of Liverpool, is said to exceed 30 miles in length. From the head of the Shubenacadie river, they almost reach the harbour of Halifax, and afford so extensive an inland navigation, that a company has been formed to complete the junction by means of a canal. Between Windsor and the Atlantic, there is a similar connexion in two different places; one between the St. Croix and Margaret's Bay, and the other between the head of the Avon and Chester Bay. Some of these lakes are extremely beautiful, containing, in general, one or more small islands, which are covered with a luxuriant growth of wood, and vary in every imaginable shape; while the hills with which they are generally environed, are often undulated in the most romantic manner, and, with few exceptions, well wooded. A large portion of the land on the southern coast, however, for many miles into the interior, is stony and barren, frequently devoid of trees,

and presenting a dreary and desolate waste. There are also some inconsiderable bogs, covered with peat and aquatic grasses. One of the largest of these is the Carriboo bog, the source of both the Horton and the Annapolis rivers, which flow thence in opposite directions, one discharging itself into the Basin of Menas, and the other into the Bay of Fundy.

"The arable lands bear, as yet, a small proportion to the wilderness parts of the country; and these, as in all other places in America, are chiefly confined to the neighbourhood of the rivers, harbours, and coasts; though small scattered settlements are to be found in the interior, where the lands are of sufficient value to invite cultivation. But the appearance of the old townships will vie with any part of America for beauty. The extended and well cultivated valley of the Annapolis river; the diversified and picturesque country of Horton and Cornwallis; the richness, extent, and variety of the views in the vicinity of Windsor; the unrivalled beauty of Mahone Bay, with its numerous islands; the whole country bordering on the Shubenaccadie; very many places in the eastern parts of the province; and the extensive townships of Newport and Yarmouth; cannot fail to excite the wonder of strangers, that they exist in a country which has always been represented as the most uninteresting part of America.*

* Haliburton, vol. ii., pp. 3—7. A patriotic partiality may be thought to have lent its colouring to this representation; but there is nothing that savours of exaggeration in the Author's general statements. "It has been the misfortune of Nova Scotia," he elsewhere remarks, "to have suffered alike from its enemies and friends. By the former, it has been represented as the abode of perpetual fog and unrelenting sterility; by the latter, as the land of the olive and the grape. Many of the loyalists who emigrated to this country, and experienced a total failure of their hopes, in

The soil of Nova Scotia is of very varying quality; but the following scale of twelve parts, is given by Mr. Haliburton as an approximation to the truth: Prime land, three parts; good ditto, four parts; inferior, three parts; incapable of cultivation, two parts; exclusive of lakes, ponds, and all other lands covered with water. The worst lands are chiefly on the southern coast. In the neighbourhood of Halifax, for instance, the soil is poor and rocky, and has only within a few years been partially brought under cultivation, under the stimulus of a bounty upon its produce.* Of the ten million of acres comprised in Nova Scotia Proper, the quantity of appropriated land at present amounts to 4,338,647, leaving at the disposal of the Crown, 5,656,233 acres. But, of this ungranted land, a large proportion consists of lakes, swamps, and barrens; and all that is valuable will, probably, be soon required by the expansive growth of the native population.†

The climate of Nova Scotia appears to be decidedly milder than that of Lower Canada or the northern

consequence of their precipitate and ill-judged attempt to make the formation of towns precede the cultivation of the land, returned in disgust to the United States; and attributed their misfortunes to the poverty of the soil, and the inclemency of the climate, rather than to their own indiscretion. The repining of these people converted the name of Nova Scotia into a proverb; and this *ultima Thule* of America became the terror of nurseries.·· Those persons who have attempted to counteract these erroneous impressions, have run into the opposite extreme; and the effect has been to overwhelm the deluded men who believed them, with ruin, disease, and death."—*Ib.* vol. ii. pp. 858, 9.

* "Land, notwithstanding, in the neighbourhood, sells high," Mr. Head says; "for people, as soon as they scrape together a little money by farming, flock to the sea-ports, and reverse the usual order of life, by finishing with commerce, instead of retirement."—Head, p 20

† Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 360

part of New England; and, what is remarkable, there is a considerable difference between the opposite coasts of the Bay of Fundy. The inhabitants of St. John's, New Brunswick, Mr. Head states, "estimate a fortnight's difference in the seasons," to the advantage of their opposite neighbours on the eastern shores of the Bay. The weather and temperature at Halifax, are not far different from what they are on the shores of Lake Huron; while at Quebec, the range of the thermometer is both higher in summer, and lower in winter. There is no season answering to an English spring. Winter, Mr. Haliburton says, is not unfrequently found "lingering in the lap of May;" but, when vegetation commences, it is very rapid, and the whole face of nature becomes altered in a few days. About the 1st of June, the fields afford pasture; yet, the summer has not arrived. "Floating islands of ice, which infest the coast at this season, influence the climate considerably; and till these gradually recede, and, becoming porous, sink to the water's edge, the weather is never settled and warm. In the hottest day, whenever the wind happens to blow from the sea, it drives before it a dense, chilling fog, like a moving pillar, over the town. There, while it rests, the change of atmosphere is violent in the extreme; the very eyes feel wet and cold; and the sea-breeze, which in England invites the invalid to the coast, to inhale its freshness, drives the Nova Scotian within the walls of his house. The evil, however, is of short continuance; for the ice-islands, on whose gelid surfaces these damp fogs have been engendered, melt by degrees, and, dispersing themselves over the ocean, cease, for the remainder of the year, to interfere with the sun's dominion." * The heat of the summer is generally

* Head, pp. 11, 12, *note*.

moderate and regular; it is greatest in August. The nights are seldom rendered oppressive by heat, but the dampness which is occasioned by the south-west winds in the dog-days, is very disagreeable.* The autumn is deemed decidedly the finest portion of the year in Nova Scotia. The mornings and evenings are cool, while the temperature of the air during the day, is not unlike that of June, and the sky is generally clear and cloudless. This season often continues, with occasional rains, and a progressive increase of cold, until about the 1st of January; there being seldom any severe weather till the 20th of December. But the earth is bound with frost from Christmas to the 1st of April. Some winters have been very mild, the navigation of the rivers remaining open till a late period.

"To say that the climate of Nova Scotia is not unfriendly to the human constitution," says Mr. Haliburton, "would be conveying but an inadequate idea of it. It is remarkably salubrious and conducive to health and longevity. A great proportion of the inhabitants live to a very advanced period. It is not uncommon to see people ninety years old, and many have attained to the age of a hundred. The emigrants from New England are peculiarly long-lived, a very large proportion of them reaching their eightieth year, in the full enjoyment of all their faculties. Until lately, this great longevity was also observable among the savages, especially the females, who lived to an extreme old age. But the use of ardent spirits, to which many of both sexes are addicted, has contributed to shorten the duration of their lives; and it is now rare to see an aged Indian." †

* "Fog prevails, in summer, on the southern shore, and at the mouth of the Bay of Fundy, but does not extend far inland."

† Haliburton, vol. ii. pp. 351—4.

Captain Basil Hall represents the maritime resources of the United States as inconsiderable, in comparison with those furnished by the coasts of the British provinces. "The American maritime line does not embrace above one-third of the distance that ours occupies; and it possesses no single port or bay (not excepting New York) to compare, in a naval point of view, with Halifax, and various other harbours of British North America, into which the largest line-of-battle ships can sail at all times of the year, and at all times of tide." * The number of fishermen and other thorough-bred seamen who crowd the shores of the British line of coast, is also greater than of those who frequent the coast of the Atlantic States. Yet, till very lately, the importance of these Colonies has been very inadequately appreciated in this country; and a narrow and impolitic system of commercial restrictions had greatly impeded their prosperity, and lessened their value. Already, the beneficial effects of a sounder and more liberal policy have been manifested, in the impulse given to colonial enterprise, the growing demand for British manufactures, and a strengthened attachment to the Mother Country.†

Halifax, the capital of Nova Scotia, situated on the west side of Chebucto Bay, was, in 1790, a town of only 700 houses, with 4000 inhabitants: it now contains 1580 houses, with a population of 14,439. The streets are regularly laid out; and Water-street is well paved and flagged, while the other main streets

* Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 407.

† Haliburton, vol. ii. p. 388. In the year 1828, of 2,094,357 tons of shipping which entered the ports of the United Kingdom, 400,841 tons, or more than one-fifth, were from the North American Colonies, and exclusively British. The number of seamen employed in this trade alone, was 18,714.

have been "Macadamized." There are two Episcopal churches, one Roman Catholic chapel, two Presbyterian places of worship, two Baptist, one Sandemanian, and one Methodist. The other public buildings consist of the government-house, the general's house, the province-house (a handsome edifice, in which are most of the public offices), the court-house, the military hospital (erected by the late Duke of Kent), and Dalhousie College. Six newspapers are published weekly, besides one at Pictou. The manufactures are at present in an infant state, most of them having been commenced since 1815. This is the only town which claims distinct notice. Annapolis, the original capital, appears never to have been any other than a very inconsiderable place. It contains a court-house, a church, a methodist chapel, a public school, and barracks; but its fortifications are dilapidated; the lumber and produce formerly transported from it, are now shipped at Bridge Town; and St. John, New Brunswick, has become the chief mart at which the inhabitants are supplied with European manufactures.

CANADA.*

THE most important of the British Colonies in North America, is, unquestionably, Canada, which forms the principal link in the chain of possessions extending from Nova Scotia and Newfoundland to the vicinity of Lake Winnipeg. Under this name, a vast region is

* The origin of the word Canada is involved in uncertainty. There is an absurd story, which refers the origin to the exclamation of some Spaniards, who are *said* to have visited the country before the French, and finding it barren, to have expressed their disappointment in the words *Aca nada*, Here is nothing, which the Indians caught up and repeated.—Talbot, vol. i. p. 57.

now comprised, which includes provinces differing not less widely in their climate and physical circumstances, than in their manners and customs, laws, religion, and government. Lower Canada, extending from the Gulf of St. Lawrence to the rivers Uttawas and Abbitibbee, (between the meridians of 64° and 82°,) is bounded, northward, by Hudson's Bay and the territory of the Hudson's Bay Company (in about lat. 52°), and southward, by New Brunswick and the American States of Maine, Vermont, and New York. The St. Lawrence passes through nearly the whole length of the province in a north-easterly direction. Upper Canada has for its southern boundary, an imaginary line commencing at the village of St. Regis on the 45th parallel, and running S.W. up the middle of the St. Lawrence and Lakes Ontario and Erie; then, bending northward, it passes up the St. Clair, crosses Lakes Huron and Superior, and runs north-westward along the La Pluie, to the N. W. angle of the Lake of the Woods.* On the west and north-west, its limits have not been assigned, but it is bounded, northward, by the Hudson's Bay territory or Rupert's land, and eastward, by Lower Canada. The superficial extent of the two provinces cannot of course be correctly estimated, but it may be averaged at 1500 miles in length, and about 200 in breadth.

When Canada was conquered by the English in 1759, the number of its inhabitants was estimated at 70,000. The revolution which took place in the political circumstances of the country in consequence of that event, retarded for a few years the progress of population; but the change of allegiance was rendered as

* Distant from Quebec, Mr. Talbot says, not less than 1826 miles.

easy as possible, by the lenient policy which was adopted. The laws were allowed to remain unaltered while the inhabitants were secured in the undisturbed possession of their lands under the ancient feudal tenures, and in the free exercise of their religious rites. The consequence was a speedy improvement in the prosperity of the country, as indicated by the following table, furnished by Mr. Lambert:—

Date of Census.	*Population.*	*Acres in Cultivation.*	*Horses.*	*Horned Cattle.*	*Sheep.*
1765	76,275	764,604	13,757	50,329	27,064
1788	113,012	1,569,818	30,096	98,591	1,184,666
Increase in 18 years	36,737	805,214	16,339	48,262	57,602

In 1814, according to a regular census, Lower Canada alone contained 335,000 inhabitants, of whom 275,000 were descendants of the original French settlers. The inhabitants of the Upper Province, which, in 1783, contained only 10,000 settlers, including the frontier posts and garrisons, amounted in 1814, to 95,000; consisting chiefly of disbanded soldiers and emigrants from the United States and Great Britain.* In 1825, the population of Lower Canada had increased to 420,679; that of Upper Canada, to 211,713; forming a total of 732,392.† The total population of the Canadas, New Brunswick, Nova Scotia, and Newfoundland, which, seventy years ago, did not much

* Mr. Gourlay estimated the population of Upper Canada in 1820, at 134,259, including 3259 Indians.

† In 1825, 2024 settlers were sent out by the British Government, at the cost of 21*l.* 5*s.* 4*d.* per head. The details of this experiment in emigration will be found in the Third Report of the Emigration Committee; and a favourable account of the progress of the New settlements is given by Capt. B. Hall, vol. i. pp. 280—346.

exceed 100,000 souls, cannot now be far short of 1,200,000, or twelve times that number.

For a general description of the country, we cannot do better than avail ourselves of the information furnished by Mr. Talbot, (son of the founder of the Talbot settlement in Upper Canada,) who resided for five years in the country.

"Nature has probably done more for Upper Canada, than for any other tract of country of equal extent; and art seems to conduct herself upon the modest principle, that it would be an act of unpardonable presumption in her, to attempt the further improvement of a country so greatly indebted to the kind indulgence of her elder sister. Here is the finest field for the exercise of human industry and ingenuity;—a soil not only capable of producing in abundance all the necessaries of life, but equal to the culture of its greatest luxuries;—a climate, not only favourable to the human constitution, but also eminently calculated for the cultivation of every species of grain and fruit. And yet, so great is the delusion under which many Europeans still labour, with respect to the real character of this fine country, that most of those who have not seen it, compare it in imagination with the deserts of Siberia; and receive all that travellers relate in its favour, with no more candour than can be expected from persons who evince no wish to be undeceived. Its real advantages, however, are now becoming so well appreciated by the inhabitants of Great Britain, that on a moderate calculation, it annually receives an accession of 8000 European settlers, in addition to those who pass over from the American confines.

"Lower Canada is not only a more picturesque country than the sister Province, but, having been

much longer settled, the roads are greatly superior, and the population more condensed. The principal road runs along the north bank of the St. Lawrence, which, as well as the southern bank, is thickly-settled. The farm-houses stand very close to each other,—a circumstance from which the French writers, in their exaggerated accounts of the country, have derived the romantic idea of villages 50 miles in extent. The land along the whole course of this noble river, from the point where it discharges itself into the Gulf of St. Lawrence, to within about 30 miles above Montreal, was divided, by order of the French King, into a certain number of seigniories, or lordships, which were granted to such enterprising persons as were desirous of seeking their fortunes in the Transatlantic forests. These seigneurs, or lords of manors, were bound to concede their possessions, in lots of about 200 acres, to such of the peasantry in the country as might be able to back their applications for land with respectable testimonials of their loyalty and good character. On obtaining farms, the peasantry were bound to become actual settlers; to clear, within a certain period, a specific portion of each lot; to keep open the public road; and to fulfil certain other conditions which will hereafter be detailed. Each of the lots runs along the course of the river about 38 English perches, and stretches backwards into the country about 1018. When the land which fronted the river was settled, the seigneurs formed other concessions in the rear of the former, which, in their turn, also became settled. But, as it is usual, in every part of the Canadas, to clear only the front of each lot, leaving 40 or 50 acres of wood in the rear for fuel and other domestic purposes, a stranger would hardly suppose that any settlements existed beyond the

visible boundaries of the cleared lands. This custom affords a good reason why the country still retains the same wooded appearance which it had a few years after its first settlement; and why you can seldom extend your view beyond the limits of a mile. On the banks of all the minor rivers which communicate with the St. Lawrence, similar settlements have been formed; and of late years, many townships have been surveyed and partially settled, which are far remote from navigable waters. The only picturesque scenery in the Province, is that which borders immediately on the rivers. The new townships of the Lower Province, exhibit, in every thing except the inferiority of the soil, an appearance very similar to those of Upper Canada. Gloomy forests, rail-fences, log-huts, and decayed stumps are all the inanimate objects which present themselves, in varying groupes, to diversify the prospect; and though you, now and then, hear the hammering of the wood-pecker, the growl of the bear, the monotonous note of the blue jay, or some other equally *attractive* music, their uncheering discord redoubles, instead of dispersing, the gloom which frequently arises within the minds of those who have been accustomed to more busy scenes and to more lively society.

"In Upper Canada, there are no mountains, and but very few hills. The only one of any note, is that which extends from the head of Quinte Bay, along the north side of Lake Ontario to its western extremity, whence it afterwards pursues an eastern direction until it embanks the river Niagara. The Canadians call this 'a mountain,' although its greatest altitude does not exceed 340 feet, and its general height is not more than 85 or 100 feet. This hill, notwithstanding its great extent, tends very little to

diversify the country. An aëronaut, in his towering flight, might possibly derive some pleasure from the contemplation of it, and might, from his lofty balloon, perceive many picturesque and romantic spots along its ridge; but many of these are concealed, by the intervention of impervious forests, from the observation of pedestrian or equestrian travellers.

"If the banks of the navigable rivers in Upper Canada were settled like those of the sister Province, the newly-cleared farms would greatly add to the beauty of the country. The Ottawas or Grand River, which empties itself into the St. Lawrence about 30 miles west of Montreal, is a very extensive and beautiful river. It is navigable by boats, almost from its source to its mouth. The Trent rises in the neighbourhood of the River Lakes, and after running a course of more than 100 miles, falls into the Bay of Quinte. The Grand River Ouse disembogues itself into Lake Erie, about 40 miles from its eastern extremity. It is navigable by small craft for about 50 miles; and some of the richest and most beautiful flats, or prairie lands, in the Province, border on its banks, and are occupied by the Indians of the Six Nations. The river Thames rises in a part of the country yet unexplored; and after winding along in a serpentine course of more than 200 miles, falls into Lake St. Clair. On the banks of this fine river, lie thousands of acres of flats, similar to those on the Grand River. This soil is formed by the annual overflowing of the river, and is not, I am confident, inferior in richness to any in the universe, not even excepting the river-bottoms on the Ohio. It produces the most fruitful crops of Indian corn imaginable; but is too rich for wheat, oats, or any common grain. Potatoes, turnips, and all kinds of culinary plants and

vegetables, are cultivated on these flats with astonishing success. Besides these rivers, there are innumerable fine brooks and rivulets running through every township. These are all called 'creeks' by the Americans; for what reason, or by what authority, I have never been able to ascertain.

"The most improved parts of Upper Canada are, from the line which divides it from the Lower Province, to the head of the Bay of Quinte, a distance of nearly 150 miles; from Fort George to Queenstown for seven miles along the Niagara river; and in the neighbourhood of Sandwich and Amersburgh. Every other part appears but in its infancy; and yet, young as are the settlements, and great as were the difficulties with which the first inhabitants had to contend, in their efforts to redeem the wilderness from its sterility, you observe not a joyless countenance among them." *

The southern extremity of Upper Canada forms a peninsula, separated from the rest of the province by the rivers Severn and Trent, which are connected by a chain of small lakes, and distinguished by the fertility of the soil and the peculiar mildness of the temperature. On the banks of Lake Erie, the climate is almost as mild as that of Philadelphia.

* Talbot's "Five Years' Residence in the Canadas," vol. i. pp. 150—155. To this work, the reader may be referred for the fullest description of the country. The military settlements of Perth, Richmond, and Lanark, in Bathurst district, Upper Canada, which "have been so fortunate as to engross the almost exclusive attention of Government," are more particularly described in "Hints to Emigrants" by the Rev. William Bell, minister of the Presbyterian Congregation at Perth, U. C. The situation is represented by Mr. Talbot to have been injudiciously chosen; but "the meliorating effects which human industry gradually produces on the rugged face of nature, are beheld with satisfaction in several parts of the district."

Lower Canada is subject to the extremes of cold and heat. The thermometer is sometimes as high as 103° in summer, and in winter 36° below zero. These extremes, however, do not last above two or three days at a time. The mean of summer heat is from 75° to 80°, and that of the cold in winter about 0. Frost begins in October; but the heat of the sun still keeps the weather tolerably warm during the day. During the early part of November also, the weather is sometimes mild, with frequent rain and snow. Towards the close of the month, the cold increases, and one snow-storm succeeds another, often attended by violent hurricanes from the frozen regions of Hudson's Bay and Labrador, till the whole face of the country is deeply covered. It is esteemed very hazardous for vessels to sail for Quebec later than about the 1st of December. About the middle of this month, the boisterous weather is succeeded by a more serene sky, with intenser cold; and sleighs and carioles pass over the hardened snow with great facility. The months of March and April are in general very hot, the sun beginning to have great power, which is considerably heightened by the reflection of the snow and ice. The snow begins to melt early in April, and by the second or third week, it is gone. The ice in the river seldom totally disappears before the first week in May. In the five ensuing months, May to September, are comprised the spring, summer, and autumn of Canada. The rest of the year, Mr. Lambert says, may be said to consist wholly of winter.* "The month of Oc-

* Yet, Mr. Lambert asserts, that the people of Great Britain suffer more from the cold than the people of Canada. He explains himself by referring to the better provision the Canadians make against the rigours of winter, in their warmer dress and their stoves. These, however, he adds, often heat the body beyond what the

tober [is sometimes agreeable; but nature has then put on her gloomy mantle, and the chilling blasts from the north-west, remind the Canadians of the approach of snow and ice. November and April are the two most disagreeable months. In the one, the snow is falling; in the other, it is going away. Both of them confine the people to their houses, and render travelling uncomfortable, and even dangerous.....The fall of the year is the most agreeable season. The sultry weather is then gone, and the night frosts have entirely destroyed or palsied the efforts of the venomous insects. The inhabitant of Canada has then no house-flies, no sand-flies, no musquitoes, nor *coups de soleil* to fear. He can then, and then only, walk abroad, range the woods, or sit at home with ease and comfort to himself." *

Canada is not the only country in which the peace of man and beast is disturbed by these insect enemies, whose winged armies oppose a more formidable resistance to the civilized intruder, than the bear and wolf, or fiercer Indian, or dreaded rattle-snake. In this country, however, they amount to a real plague. The Canadian stoves serve to keep alive in winter, one species of these tormentors, whose incredible numbers, when revived by the heat of the sun, render them a disgusting nuisance. The musquitoes are the scourge of every new settlement; but, where the woods are cleared, their numbers are generally lessened, or they

climate requires, debilitating the frame, so that the Canadians feel the cold more than Englishmen do on their first arrival. "The constant use of stoves, renders them very little better than hot-house plants during winter; and in summer, they are exposed to a burning sun."—Lambert, vol. i. p. 119.

* Lambert, vol. i. pp. 125—8. See also Talbot, vol. i. pp. 240—258.

disappear, unless in the neighbourhood of marshes or stagnant waters.*

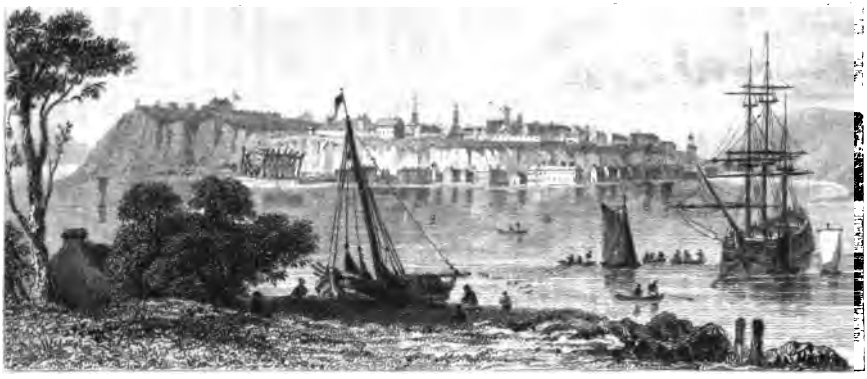
Quebec and Montreal, in Lower Canada, and Kingston, in the Upper Province, are the only towns that claim a distinct notice. Between the former two, on the northern bank of the St. Lawrence, the greater part of the French population is concentrated. Of Quebec, the capital of the Lower Province, as it was of New France, Lieutenant Hall gives the following description.

QUEBEC.†

"The city of Quebec is built on the northern extremity of a narrow strip of high land, which follows the course of the St. Lawrence for several miles, to its confluence with the Charles. The basis of this height is a dark slate-rock, of which most of the buildings in the town are constructed. Cape Diamond terminates the promontory, with a bold precipice towards the St. Lawrence, to which it is nearly perpendicular, at the height of 320 feet: it derives its name from the crystals of quartz found in it, which are so abundant that, after a shower, the ground glitters with them. The lower town is built round the foot of these heights,

* Mr. Talbot luxuriates in the description of these nuisances; and, were not his representation borne out by Lambert and others, it might be suspected of exaggeration. There is, no doubt, a considerable variation in different parts of the country, as to the prevalence of these annoyances. Mr. Bell gives a much more favourable statement ("Hints," &c. pp. 185, 6) as to Upper Canada. While all these writers mention the fire-fly, none of them advert to the reported fact, that this insect preys upon the musquito.

† The name of the city is said to be derived from the Algonquin word *Quebeio* or *Quebec*, which signifies narrow or contracted, in allusion to the contraction of the river between Quebec and Point Levi.—Lambert, vol. i. p. 31,



H. Adlard. Sc.

QUEBEC

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without the fortifications, which, with the upper town, occupy their crest, in bleak pre-eminence: the former, snug and dirty, is the abode of thriving commerce, and of most of the lower classes employed about the navy. . .

"Among the principal buildings, the Government-house, or Castle of St. Louis, may take precedence, being a thin blue building, which seems quivering, like a theatrical side-scene, on the verge of the precipice, towards the St. Lawrence: its front resembles that of a respectable gentleman's house in England: the interior contains comfortable family apartments. For occasions of public festivity, there is another building on the opposite side of the court-yard, much resembling a decayed gaol. The furniture is inherited, and paid for by each successive governor. The grand entrance to the Chateau is flanked, on one side, by this grim mouldering pile, and on the other, by the stables, with their appropriate dung-hills. There is a small garden on the bank of the river, commanding, as does the Chateau itself, an interesting view of the opposite shores of the St. Lawrence. These rise boldly precipitous, clothed with pine and cedar groves, and studded with white villages, and detached farms; beyond which, the eye reposes on successive chains of wooded mountains, fading blue in the distant horizon; meanwhile, the river below is spreading broadly towards the north, until it meets and divides round the Isle of Orleans.

"In front of the Chateau is an open space of ground, with great capabilities of being converted into a handsome square; but at this season (May), a formidable barrier of bog-land, intersected with rivulets of snow-water, is all that it presents to the bewildered pedestrian, who endeavours vainly to steer for the castle-

gate. On one side of it stands the Protestant cathedral church, an unfinished building, much more than large enough for the congregation usually assembled in it. In style and arrangement, it resembles a London parochial church, and has nothing about it reproachable with earthly beauty: there is a good organ, but mute for want of an organist; and as there is no choir, the heavy flatness of the service amply secures the English church from all danger of being crowded with the overflowings of its neighbour, the Catholic cathedral, in which are still displayed, with no inconsiderable degree of splendour, the enticing ceremonies of the Romish worship. I was present at the service on Easter Sunday. A train of not less han fifty stoled priests and choristers surrounded the tapered altar: the bishop officiated in *pienis pontificalibus*, nor lacked the mitre 'precious and aurophrygiate;' while the pealing organ, incense rolling from silver censers, and kneeling crowds, thronging the triple aisles, presented a spectacle, on which few are rigid enough, either in belief or unbelief, to look with absolute indifference. . .

"In Catholic countries, there are few public buildings, either for use or ornament, but are in some way connected with religion, and most frequently with charity. There are several charitable Catholic institutions in Quebec: the principal of these is the 'Hotel Dieu,' founded in 1637, by the Duchess D'Aiguillon, (sister to Cardinal Richelieu,) for the poor sick. The establishment consists of a superior and thirty-six nuns. The 'General Hospital' is a similar institution, consisting of a superior and forty-three nuns, founded by St. Vallier, bishop of Quebec, in 1693, for 'Poor Sick and Mendicants.' It stands about a mile from the town, in a pleasant meadow watered by the Charles. The style of building is

simple, and well suited to the purposes of the establishment, consisting only of 'such plain roofs as piety could raise.' . .

"The Ursuline Convent, founded in 1639, for the education of female children, stands within the city. It has, both in its interior decoration, and the dress of its inhabitants, a greater appearance of wealth than the General Hospital and Hotel Dieu. The Seminary is a collegiate institution, for the gratuitous instruction of the Catholic youth of Canada. The number of scholars is commonly about 200. The expenses of professors, teaching, &c. are defrayed by the revenue arising from the Seignoral domains belonging to the establishment. The course of studies here qualifies for ordination. There is a small museum, or '*Cabinet de physique*,' which seems in a growing condition; it contains, besides natural curiosities, electrical apparatus, telescopes, and other instruments of science. The library is somewhat too theological; there is a small *hell** attached to it, in which I perceived our Common Prayer Books, Testaments, &c. in company with many divines, as well Catholic as Protestant, Bayle, and a few travellers and philosophers, but the greater part theologians.

"The old palace, besides the chambers for the Council and House of Assembly, contains a good public library. The nature of the collection may be defined, generally, as the reverse of that of the Seminary library: there is a good assortment of historical works, of a standard quality, and of travels; but no classics, probably because none of the inhabitants affect to read them. A library was also on the eve of being established, by the officers of the staff and garrison; but

* The name given to that part of a Catholic Library allotted to the reception of heretical and prohibited works.

the society of Quebec is generally on too limited a scale, and too exclusively military or commercial, to foster any considerable spirit of literature or science. An attempt was made during Sir G. Prevost's administration, to establish a society on the plan of the Royal Institution; but it fell to the ground, for want of a sufficiency of efficient members, eleven being the supposed necessary quantum to begin with. Nor is this seeming scarcity surprising, when we consider that the short Canadian summer is appropriated to business, and that during the tedious winter, the men are never tired of dinners, nor the ladies of dancing." *

The fortifications of the city are more particularly described by Mr. Duncan.

"On the south and east, the precipice of rock on which the city stands, is in most places perfectly inaccessible, while the more practicable points admit of easy and effectual defence. On the north, the banks of the St. Charles are low, shallow, and muddy; effectually securing the town from the approach of ships of war, or the erection of hostile works; both of which, besides, would, in this situation, be under the fire of the batteries along the brow of the rock. The only vulnerable point is on the west, adjoining to the plains of Abraham.

"The citadel, upon the highest part of Cape Diamond, may be said to be the nucleus of the works which have been erected to protect this side of Quebec. No strangers, unless by very rare and special permis-

* F. Hall, pp. 58—66. Lambert may still be referred to for a full and particular description of the manners and amusements of the Canadians, the state of society in Quebec and Montreal, and the characteristics of the *habitans*. He travelled in 1806—1808. Our limits will not admit of entering into minute detail; and the more brief accounts of subsequent travellers have been therefore preferred to his diffuse, though amusing description.

sion from the highest authorities, nor in general any but the military, are permitted to enter the citadel. I understand, however, that there is really nothing extraordinary to be seen. Its defences are of the strongest kind, its guns of the largest calibre; and magazines are embraced within its circuit, which might enable the garrison to make a final stand, even were the whole range of the outer works reduced by an enemy. The highest point within the citadel is Brock's battery, which was erected during last war, and commands, it is said, all the works on this side of the town. From the citadel, which is immediately over the St. Lawrence, enormous walls cross the plain, extending down towards the St. Charles. These walls have all the additional aid of outer-works, ditch, glacis, and covered way. Strong bastions project at intervals; and in whatever direction you look, heavy cannon converge, so as to meet the assailant at every turn, both with a direct and a cross fire. There are two gates on this side, St. John's and St. Louis's; but every approach to them is fortified with such jealous care, that one cannot conceive a possibility of their ever being entered but by consent of the garrison. The wall at each gate is said to be about fifty feet in thickness. Within the walls and between the two gates is a fine sloping bank, or esplanade, of considerable extent. Other batteries and lines of defence are continued round the brow of the rock, on both sides, towards the lower town; but, excepting in the neighbourhood of the Prescott gate, there appears to be comparatively little occasion for them. Between this gate and the St. Charles, is the grand battery, commanding the bay and a great part of the harbour.

"Upon the whole, Quebec may be regarded as pretty nearly impregnable. The walls are so high, that esca-

lade is hopeless; so thick, that a breach seems impracticable; and while Britain retains its naval superiority in the river, blockade is out of the question. The length and severity of the winter also act as a powerful auxiliary, for field operations could scarcely then be carried on. I have heard it indeed said, that, in the winter nights, the sentinels on the ramparts are relieved every fifteen minutes, so overpowering is the intensity of the cold." *

Of the state of society in Quebec, at the time of his visit, this intelligent Traveller gives a very unfavourable account, especially in a religious aspect. The Sabbath was openly disregarded by the Protestants, the Roman Catholics being by far more attentive to its external observance. There are four Protestant places of worship; an Episcopalian, a Scotch Presbyterian, an Independent, and a Methodist; but there was not a Protestant minister, either in the city or the province, capable of preaching in the language of the Canadian natives. "Upon the whole," he says, "the religious aspect of Lower Canada, is very much the reverse of what, as a Briton and a Christian, I should wish it to be." † The population of Quebec was estimated, in 1815, at 18,000.

MONTREAL.

MONTREAL, the second town in Canada, is built upon the island of the same name, (about 32 miles in length,) immediately below the junction of the Ottawas

* Duncan, vol. ii. pp. 213—217.

† Since the date of these Travels, some progress has been made in the establishment of schools and Bible Societies; so that it may be hoped that Protestantism wears at present a somewhat more respectable aspect, and is better represented in its ministers.

and the St. Lawrence, 180 miles above Quebec. The customary mode of travelling, formerly, was by calashes, along the bank of the river, where there was a regular establishment of post-houses under Government regulation. But this is now superseded by steam-boats of a very large size, which are constantly employed between the two cities. The river here bends, so as to flow very nearly northward; and Montreal, with its suburbs, extends for about two miles along the western bank.

"From the opposite shore," says Mr. Duncan, "the town has a showy appearance; and in summer, the circumjacent scenery is exceedingly beautiful. Behind and to the left of the city, rises the mountain from which it originally took its name; not a conical eminence, but a swelling, semi-circular ridge, with its concave surface towards the stream, and placed like a rampart behind the city to shield it in winter from the unkindly blast. A dense forest covers the greater part of the hill, except where space has been cleared for a few neatly-built mansions, whose bright tin roofs glitter in the sunbeams. Behind one of the most remote of these, a monumental column rises from among the trees. Between the bottom of the eminence and the spires of the city, a thin, blue smoke ascends from part of the suburbs which the sinking of the ground conceals from view. In front of its dark-coloured outline are the tall masts of merchantmen from the Thames, the Mersey, and the Clyde, huge steam-boats with double chimneys, river craft of all sizes, and enormous rafts of timber. In the middle of the stream reposes the Island of St. Helena, encircled by a groupe of smaller ones; while the unceasing sound of a small rapid which surrounds them, falls gently on the ear. To the right and left rolls, the

majestic flood of the St. Lawrence, about two miles in width, and although yet 500 miles from the ocean, capable of floating on its surface vessels of 600 or 700 tons burden.

"The city, unfortunately, does not gain much upon you by a nearer inspection. The streets are for the greater part most inconveniently narrow, and the foot-walks are in many places incumbered with cellar doors and other projections. The dark-coloured limestone of which the houses are built, has a dull effect; and the massive iron shutters, folded back from almost every window and door, considerably increase the gloom. The bright tin which covers the spires and roofs, has decided utility to recommend it; but, in warm sunshine, its reflection is painful to the eyes, and at all times it has an air of flaunting vulgarity. Blue slate harmonizes much more agreeably with the azure of the sky, but it will not stand, as I have been told, the intense cold which prevails in winter. The tin is put on in rows, not parallel, but obliquely to the eaves of the house; the nails which fasten it are carefully overlapped, and no where is the slightest degree of rust to be seen.

"Between the older part of the city and the mountain, some wider streets have been laid out, which will greatly improve the general features of Montreal; and I was astonished to observe, on my second visit, the great number of buildings which have started up, in various directions, since the period of my first. The town is obviously increasing with rapidity, and a number of very splendid mansions have lately been erected on the slope of the mountain, which would be regarded as magnificent residences, even by the wealthy merchants of the mother country.

"Notre Dame-street, the best in the older part of

the town, lies nearly parallel to the river, and is about three quarters of a mile in length. It is, however, unfortunately broken into two separate portions by the principal French church, which, like St. George's in Glasgow, has been awkwardly set down in the very centre of the street. In making a turn round this church, the street widens into a small square called the Place d'Armes.

"Montreal possesses a few public buildings, civil, military, and ecclesiastical; the neatest of which, for none of them can be called elegant, are the new Court House and the Jail. Behind the Court House is the Champ de Mars; a very level piece of ground of considerable extent, which is a favourite promenade in the summer evenings, and the principal scene of military displays. Opposite to the Jail, is a monument to the memory of Lord Nelson, consisting of a Doric column, springing from a square pedestal, and surmounted with a statue of the Admiral. Upon the four sides of the pedestal are basso-relievo representations of his principal achievements, surrounded with inscriptions and allegorical figures. The column is of stone, the statue and bas-reliefs of composition. It stands at the top of a pretty steep street at right angles to the river; his Lordship looks towards the river, because the best view of the monument is obtained from the bottom of the declivity; but it unfortunately happens that the principal street of the city passes behind him, and he has consequently turned his back upon it and all that it contains.

"The Episcopal church, a recent erection, was intended to be a splendid one, with a towering spire; but the *wherewithal* was exhausted ere the spire grew up, and for the present, a covering of boards serves to indicate where it is intended to be,

"The population of Montreal, notwithstanding the mixture of British merchants,* has still an aspect decidedly French, and that language assails your ear in every quarter. The dress of the lower orders is somewhat peculiar. The women and children have a kind of quaint formality in the shape of their clothes. The men, in place of a hat, wear a red or blue night-cap of a thick texture, with a parti-coloured worsted sash around their waist, and shoes fashioned like the Indian moccassins, but of thicker leather. They are great smokers, and are seldom to be seen without a small black pipe in their mouths, not unlike the Scottish *cutty*. The politeness of the common people is quite characteristic of their descent: a couple of carmen cannot address each other in the street without pulling off their caps, and 'Bon jour, Monsieur.' The Romish priests, who are seen gliding quietly along, are habited in a close black robe, buttoned up in front, with a small scull-cap under an ordinary hat, and the lapels of a small black band, with white edges, depending below the chin. The students of the Seminary wear a long blue surtout, with seams of white cloth, and a sash of coloured worsted round the waist, gathered into a knot in front.

"Besides the varieties of costume to which I have alluded, a few Indians are almost always in the streets from the Caughnawaga village. Some of them have a squalid and dirty appearance; but others, and more particularly the females, are very decently attired. I have indeed seen some of them with an ample mantle of fine blue cloth, over garments of India silk. They

* "Of the merchants of Montreal, the greater proportion are, I believe, Scotch. A few Englishmen mingle with them; and there are also a considerable number of Americans from the New England States."

are fond of silver ornaments, and have generally a broad ring round their hats, and a large disk perforated with holes hanging on their breast."

There are now no monasteries in Canada. A large building, formerly occupied by the Recollets, is now converted into a barrack. There are two academical institutions connected with the Romish Church; "the Seminary" (founded in 1657) and the New College. These academies, although in many respects useful, yet tend to perpetuate both the French language and the Romish religion, and consequently to prevent the thorough amalgamation of the French inhabitants with those of British descent. Unhappily, however, there is no English college. There are two nunneries (*Les Sœurs Gris* and *La Congrégation de Notre Dame*, or Black Nuns,) and a *Hotel Dieu*, conducted by a *Supérieure* and thirty-six nuns, for the reception of the sick and diseased poor. There are four Protestant places of worship; an Episcopalian, a Scotch Presbyterian, a Burgher, and a Methodist; but, judging from the slight observance of the Sabbath, the efficiency of the pulpit instruction appeared to Mr. Duncan very equivocal.

"As to the society of Montreal," says Mr. Duncan, "and the style of living which prevails, strangers are very likely to differ somewhat in their opinions. If you enjoy good eating, card-playing, dancing, music, and gayety, you will find abundance of all. If literary society is your choice, you will discover, I am afraid, but little; and if religious, still less. I was particularly struck with the extent to which card-playing and the dice-box abound: they seem indeed to be almost the only resource in an evening party, if it is not professedly a dancing one. That the citizens of Montreal are hospitable and kind in their attention to a

stranger, I bear my willing and most grateful testimony; but unless the traveller is prepared to enjoy such expedients for recreation, he must lay his account with being occasionally somewhat singular in company. The literature of the city may be estimated by the fact, that there is at present but one book-shop in it whose collection of English authors has even moderate claims to respectability; a few others are to be found with Romish prayer-books and monkish legends, but their shelves can boast of little else except a few articles of stationery. We cannot expect that the demand for books here should be at all equal to that at home, or even in the United States: among the great majority of the Canadians, none but a few of the females are able to read. And of the British residents, the greater part are eagerly intent upon the acquisition of wealth, and in general, anticipate a return to their native country to spend it; and if in their hours of intermission from other pursuits, they can glance at a novel, or a fashionable poem, it is all that in most cases is attempted." *

Montreal has hitherto belonged to Lower Canada; but Captain Basil Hall mentions a project that had long been agitated, for annexing it to the Upper Province, which had suffered materially from the want of a port of her own. "Until the only sea-port she can possibly obtain, be included within her boundary," remarks this Traveller, "and her Legislature be thus vested with efficient control over the commercial resources of the colony, that province must be virtually separated from us and from the rest of the world. Two-thirds of the exports from the river St. Lawrence, are the produce of Upper Canada; and this *ratio* will

* Duncan, vol. ii. pp. 171, 2.

probably go on increasing in her favour. The Lower Canadians might well be contented with the magnificent port of Quebec." * According to recent accounts, this most desirable arrangement is likely to be carried into effect. The Island of Montreal is to be annexed to the province of Upper Canada, but not the intermediate country between Montreal and the present boundary line. It is also reported, that the seat of government for Upper Canada, is to be removed from York, the present contemptible and ill-chosen capital,† to Kingston.

KINGSTON

Is favourably situated, both for commercial and for warlike operations. It stands at the lower end or north-eastern extremity of Lake Ontario, where the waters contract into the commencement of the channel of the St. Lawrence; and is the great concentrating point of intercourse between Montreal and all the settlements along the Great Lakes. The harbour is deep, safe, and commodious, one of the best on the Lakes; and the natural advantages of the position have been greatly strengthened by fortifications. Its appearance from the water is described by Mr. Dun-

* B. Hall, vol. i. p. 328.

† "The burning of York by the Americans during last war, with the public buildings, was the ostensible justification of our conduct at Washington. It certainly sounds like a matter of importance, when we hear of the *Capital of Upper Canada* being destroyed, and the buildings appropriated to the *two Houses of Parliament*; but when the Capital is found to contain little more than a single small street, and the Parliament-house is discovered to have been only a wooden one, the transition is something like that from the sublime to the ridiculous."—Duncan, vol. ii. p. 111. See p. 180 of our first volume.

can as very imposing. "The town extends about three quarters of a mile, along a point of land at the narrow entrance to a small bay; a peninsula intervenes between this and a second little bay, beyond which is a corresponding projection on the opposite shore.

"Within the entrance to the larger bay is the harbour of the town, which is generally crowded with schooners, Durham boats, and batteaux. The intermediate peninsula is occupied by the dock-yard, where the frames of two 74 gun ships were on the stocks, and beyond them, rose piles of heavy cannon, gun-carriages, and shot, with an armoury and various buildings connected with the naval department. In the basin which succeeds, were six or eight ships of war, dismantled and laid up; among which are, one of 100 guns, two frigates of 50, and one of 36. On the brow of the projecting point below this basin, is a strong fort, from whose battlements the British colours are displayed. Smaller batteries line the shore in front of the dock-yard and the town, and contribute not a little to the gallant bearing which the settlement exhibits.

"Kingston is built partly of dark stone, and partly of wood. The wooden houses predominate, but there are enough of the others to give the town a character decidedly different from that which prevails among those in the United States. Its public buildings consist of a Government and Court House, an Episcopalian and a Romish church, with a market house, jail, and hospital. The inn at which I lodged, was a most comfortable one; and in its internal management, the same system prevailed with which travellers are familiar at home."*

* Duncan, vol. ii. pp. 113, 14.

From Kingston to Prescott, 67 miles, the river is descended by schooners and sloops; but between Prescott and Montreal, 130 miles, there are numerous rapids, which are impassable by any thing larger than a *batteau*, or a Durham boat. These rapids are from half a mile to nine miles in length, and require regular pilots. They have been often described, and the burden of Moore's Canadian Boat Song,

"'The Rapids are near, and the day-light's past,"

have familiarized their name at least to every one. A canal, however, is nearly completed, from Kingston to the Ottawas river, by which this navigation may be entirely avoided.

"The Rideau Canal, as this extensive work is called, is formed almost entirely of a string of lakes joining one another; so that in its whole length, which is 133 miles, there are not above 20 of regular canal work. The rest is accomplished by lakes, by locks, and by a series of dams thrown across the valleys, which, by confining the water, produce artificial reservoirs, many miles in length, on which steam-boats can navigate without injury to the banks.

"This important military work, undertaken at the expense of the British Government, is intended especially for the transport of troops and military stores at all times, but will be more particularly useful during any future contest with the United States. In order to prevent the possibility of our communications between Lower and Upper Canada being interfered with in time of war, it has been deemed right to carry this canal across a part of the country removed to a considerable distance back from the frontier; and so situated, in other respects, that no probable incur-

sion of the enemy could destroy it, or even interrupt the passage of boats." *

Owing, however, to "the round-about course" taken by this canal, there is little chance, our Traveller observes, of its being used for commercial purposes in peace, although, in time of war, it would become the great channel of intercourse; a ship-canal round the Rapids of the St. Lawrence, is still desirable, therefore, for the commercial interests of the country.

Here we must terminate our rapid sketch of this important Colony, still so imperfectly known and partially explored; a country which, in spite of its long winter and its insect annoyances, holds out so many solid advantages to the settler, and promises to afford a happy asylum to successive thousands under a judicious system of emigration. "The facilities and intrinsic value of Canada," remarks Mr. Hodgson, "the fertility of its soil, the beauty of its scenery, and the salubrity of its climate, greatly surpassed my previous ideas, and, as far as I had an opportunity of judging, the ideas generally entertained in England. Americans also appear to me universally to return from Canada with far higher ideas of its importance than they had before conceived."

Adverting to the possibility of abandoning this important possession, the Author warmly deprecates the idea of England's relinquishing so fair a portion of the globe;—"a beautiful, romantic country, watered by a river into which the tide flows more than 400 miles; which is navigable for 580 miles by ships of 500 tons burthen; and which, after a course of nearly 3000 miles, (the outlet of inland seas whose area is com-

* Basil Hall, vol. i. p. 231.

puted at 96,000,000 acres or 150,000 square miles,) expands, at its mouth, to the width of 90 miles, and discharges, according to the estimate of the American geographers, one half more water than the Mississippi." *

So far as regards the empty pride of territorial possession, Great Britain, the Mistress of the Indus and the Ganges, might well afford to resign her claims to the St. Lawrence. Endowed with the commerce of both Indies, and possessed of such vast unoccupied territories as Australia and Southern Africa, she could not very materially suffer from the alienation of her North American dependencies. But the Canadians are well aware of the benefits they derive from the political protection of this country; nor is there any probability of their wishing to renounce that alliance, in order to enjoy the equivocal benefits of the American Federacy. We trust, however, that no future cause of collision will arise between English America and American England. Policy, religion, the voice of Nature and of God, enjoin the strictest amity between the two grand portions of that favoured nation, to whom Divine Providence appears to have committed the moral empire of both hemispheres.

* Hodgson, vol. ii. pp. 55, 6.

THE END.

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